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# Meta Boeoton emachonto : An inquiry into the motivation for semantic change

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Riggs, Brian John, M.A.

San Jose State University, 1992

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μετὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐμάχοντο  
AN INQUIRY INTO THE MOTIVATION FOR SEMANTIC CHANGE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Linguistics  
and Language Development

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

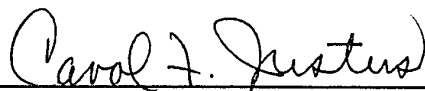
Master of Arts

by

Brian Riggs

December, 1992

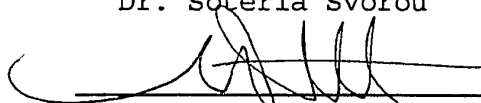
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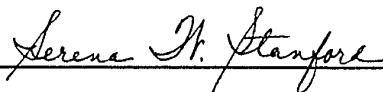


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ABSTRACT

μετὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐμάχοντο  
AN INQUIRY INTO THE MOTIVATION FOR SEMANTIC CHANGE

by Brian Riggs

The issue to be addressed by this study is the motivation for the change of the Greek preposition μετὰ to 'governing' a genitive rather than a dative case inflection and its coinciding shift in meaning from an exclusively locative meaning (English 'among, between') in the Homeric dialect to an exclusively comitative meaning (English 'with') in post-Homeric literature. This semantic change is particularly interesting since the Greek language already had a comitative preposition (σύν) at least as early as Homer and no regularly used alternate lexical item to replace μετὰ's sense of interposition once its meaning changed. Despite this, as early as the earliest post-Homeric literature, the semantic change was already completely incorporated into the language. This study shows that, rather than a simple dialectal difference, the change of inflection of μετὰ's governed nominal from dative to genitive directly motivated its semantic change from 'among' to 'with'.



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## Chapter I. Introduction

The issue to be addressed by this study is the change of the Greek preposition *μετά* to 'governing' a genitive rather than dative case inflection and its coinciding semantic shift from a locative to comitative meaning. This change was noted at least as early as the nineteenth century and is summarized in Kühner (1898:505):

The construction with the genitive is of younger origin ... but gradually completely replaced not only the dative construction, to which it stood very close from the start, but also assumed the functions of *σύν* and thereby substantially restricted this preposition's area.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, while classicists and Indo-Europeanists of the past century and a half have noted this interesting and unusual change, no study to date has accounted for it. Even the most detailed analyses by Mommsen (1874, 1876, 1879) did not arrive at a conclusion regarding the motivation for *μετά*'s change in meaning and hardly examined the inflectional change at all. By analyzing *μετά*'s change in light of recent semantic theories (such as those of Langacker (1986) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980)), this study will comprehensively inquire into and account for *μετά*'s semantic and inflectional changes to a degree no other study to date

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<sup>1</sup> 'Die Verbindung mit dem Genitiv ist jüngeren Ursprungs ..., hat aber allmählich nicht nur die Dativkonstruktion, der sie von vornherein dem Sinne nach sehr nahe stand ... vollständig verdrängt, sondern auch die Funktion von *σύν* mit übernommen und dadurch das Gebiet dieser Präposition wesentlich eingeengt.'

has done. In doing so, this study will provide additional evidence for the existence of the 'regular cognitive processes' governing meaning change, as postulated by Traugott (1985a:231), which are allowing linguists to discuss semantic change in terms of cross-linguistic universals.

### 1. Introduction to *μετά*

*μετά* entered the Greek language as the Indo-European \*me- 'in the middle of' (Watkins (1985:39)). The suffixed form \*me-dhi (Skt. madhyas, Lat. medius) became Proto-Greek \*μεθιος and finally the Greek nominal μέσος 'middle' (Buck (1933:122)). The addition of the ablative suffix -ta (also in *κατά*, see Buck (1955:104)) created the adverbial/prepositional form presently under discussion. *μετά*, however, retained its original idea of interposition only in the earliest Greek literature.

In its earliest uses (as attested in the Old Ionic dialect of Homer and Hesiod as well as the Mycenaean dialect recorded on the Linear B tablets), the preposition *μετά* was originally used with a dative plural case inflection to express interposition, commonly translated into English as 'between' or 'among', as in:

1. Τρώεσσι (Trojans-DAT) μεθ' (among) ἱπποδάμοις (tamers of horses-DAT) αγορεύσω  
'I will speak among the Trojans, tamers of horses'  
Il.8.525

This regular association with the plural was only logical

since one can only be located 'between' or 'among' a plurality of objects or persons. Except in five unique instances, the object of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  occurred only with the dative plural throughout the writings of Homer (c.700-620).<sup>2</sup> Alcaeus (c.620) and Sappho (c.612) are among the earliest post-Homeric authors. However, the works of these two are fragmentary and both used the Aeolic form  $\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$  rather than  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ . The better attested writings of Aeschylus (c.525-456) and Pindar (c.518-456) will therefore be used for contrasting the Homeric and post-Homeric uses of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ . Aeschylus and Pindar (who wrote in the Old Attic and Doric dialects, respectively) used  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  as a preposition with either a dative or genitive object less than eleven times each. This distinctly contrasts with Homer, who used the preposition with the dative more than two hundred times.<sup>3</sup> Also in contrast to Homer, Aeschylus and Pindar used  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  primarily with a genitive inflection -- the case used in the five atypical Homeric passages. This morphological change in  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 's governed nominal was paralleled by a semantic shift. No longer expressing interposition as in Homer,  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the genitive became synonymous with  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  ('with') in

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<sup>2</sup> Throughout this study I use the name 'Homer' to refer to the Homeric author or authors regardless of their actual identity.

<sup>3</sup> See appendix for frequency of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  and  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  in and after Homer.

Aeschylus and Pindar, expressing an idea of accompaniment rather than one of location. In the later Classical literature, *μετά* occurred exclusively with the genitive case inflection and expressed accompaniment:

2. *συγγόνου* (brother-GEN) *μέτα* (with) *θανεῖ πάλιν μολοῦσα δεσποτῶν χέρας*  
 'With her brother she will be put to death by the hand of the tyrant as she comes back' Eur.Iph.Tau.1420

As a synonymous lexical item, *μετά* proceeded to supersede the use of the comitative preposition *σύν* in most instances in Classical literature.<sup>4</sup> Only in the anachronistic epic (Old Ionic) dialect was *μετά* with the dative retained throughout the Classical, Hellenistic, early Byzantine eras.<sup>5</sup> The association of *μετά* with the genitive to indicate concomitance in all non-epic literature continued until the fifteenth century when *μετά* was shortened to *με* and its case association became accusative. At this same

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<sup>4</sup> Xenophon and Euripides are exceptions, in whose writings *μετά* and *σύν* both occur frequently despite their synonymous meanings. For extensive comparisons of *μετά* with the genitive and *σύν* with the dative being used synonymously in Euripides, see Mommsen (1876).

<sup>5</sup> See statistics in the appendix regarding the frequencies of the genitive and dative *μετά* in the epic works of Apollonius of Rhodes and Quintus of Smyrna. While Quintus freely used both genitive and dative constructions side-by-side, Apollonius employs only the dative. This implies the intentional exclusion of the *μετά* with the genitive used in the spoken Greek of Apollonius' time, and is evidence of Apollonius' homericizing style (see Mommsen (1879:12): 'Μετά c. gen. (in Apollonius of Rhodes) wirt strenge vermieden, sicherlich in bewusster Weise....' and Beye (1982:6-10)).

time  $\mu\epsilon$  completely replaced  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  as the favored way of expressing concomitance (see Browning (1982:82-3)).

This study will treat  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 's inflectional and semantic change as a pan-dialectal phenomenon, rather than a dialectal variation. Support for such a treatment is backed by the fact that the use of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the dative as a device to denote interposition occurred in at least two of the earliest evidenced Greek dialects, Mycenaean and Old Ionic (see Shipp 1961:17)). That these two dialects are relatively unrelated to each other<sup>6</sup> contributes to the evidence that  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the dative was an earlier construction rather than a dialectal variation. Literature written in all Greek dialects after Homer, on the other hand, employ  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the genitive to denote a comitative idea. If the lyric poetry of Archilochos (c.650) can be considered reliable data reflecting either the late Old Ionic or early New Ionic dialect, then as early as the middle of the seventh century B.C.  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the genitive was used to express concomitance:

οὐ τις αἰδοῖος μετ' (with) ἄστῶν (citizens-GEN) οὐδὲ  
 περίφημος θανὼν γίγνεται  
 'He becomes neither esteemed with the citizens nor very  
 famous when he dies' Fr.64 (From Campbell (1967:4))

This further supports the conclusion that  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the

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<sup>6</sup> Georiev (1964:126) remarks that Ventris and Chadwick consider Mycenaean an ancestor of the Arcado-Cypriot and Aeolic dialects and Palmer only of Aeolic.



dative as a means of expressing interposition cannot be considered a peculiarity of Old Ionic, but is rather indicative of an early and unique sense of *μετά*. Archilochos' poetry, however, like that of all Greek literature that was written between the composition of the Homeric epics and the plays of Aeschylus, exists only in fragments and in quotations from other later Greek authors. Because of this, the grammar recorded on these fragments may well reflect a later period of Greek and will therefore not be admitted as reliable data for this study. If not a dialectal variation, then *μετά*'s inflectional and semantic change must be treated as a change in the Greek language in general.

Within Homer, the preposition *μετά* already had polysemous meanings. In addition to expressing interposition, when used with an accusative case inflection, *μετά* also could denote a referent's position behind or movement toward an object, as well as denote the time 'after' which an event occurred. An explanation for this polysemy is readily available, however, and will be treated in full in Chapter III, section 2.b. What is more difficult to explain is how and why *μετά*'s case association changed from dative to genitive and assumed a comitative meaning in all Greek literature after Homer.

The difference between 'in the midst of' and 'in the

company of' has traditionally been considered a very small one. For instance, Wackernagel (1926:240) remarks:

Staying in the midst of a company includes being together with it and its members, and there are many passages (in Homer) where the two meanings quite coincide.

Such a train of thought, however, is misleading in that it implies the semantic similarity of the constructions. Quite the opposite, the change clearly marks a significant shift in the way the ancient Greeks conceptualized the spatial relation denoted by *μετά*. This can be seen in the light of case grammar theory and cognitive semantics, as well as recent hypotheses of cross-linguistic semantic universals based on the unidirectionality of semantic change.

## **2. Introduction to case grammar, cognitive semantics, and unidirectional semantic change**

### **a. Case grammar**

Using the terminology of Fillmore (1968), *μετά* with the genitive in Homer was the surface realization of the Locative case role. *μετά* with the genitive in Classical literature, on the other hand, realized the Comitative (and in certain restricted instances the Instrumental) case role. Throughout this study, when it is necessary to make reference to case roles, the terms Place and Means (as well as Agent, Receptor, and Target -- from Lehmann (1972:242ff)) will be used. Unless otherwise specified, the term 'case' will refer to inflectional cases (nominative, genitive,

etc.) as they morphologically realize the case roles.

### **b. Cognitive semantics and metaphor**

Traugott (1986:168) divides the study of historical semantics into two approaches: the sociohistoric and the cognitive. Together the two

must ideally complement each other in any full theory of semantic change. The cognitive approach will focus on widespread processes of change resulting from cognitive processes; the sociohistoric approach will focus on the particular situations that give rise to particular changes.

While the present study addresses the semantic change of *μετά* from what Traugott would consider a 'sociohistoric' approach, it also has implications for cognitive semantics.

Fillmore lost track of the uniquenesses of the Locative and Comitative cases in his 1971 model, in which he combined the two into the single Location case role (see Cook (1989:39)). Lakoff and Johnson (1980:134-5) do not confuse the relationship between concomitance and location and, additionally, they recognize the metaphorical relationship between accompaniment and instrumentality as a cross-linguistic phenomenon:

The word or grammatical device that indicates ACCOMPANIMENT also indicates INSTRUMENTALITY. Since the experiences on which the metaphor AN INSTRUMENT IS A COMPANION are based are likely to be a universal, it is natural that this grammatical principle holds in most languages.

Though Lakoff and Johnson offer no data in support for this claim of universality, examples from the most unrelated of

languages are not difficult to come by:

Ankaraya Ahmetle gideceğim      'I will go with Ahmet'  
 Ankaraya trenle gideceğim      'I will go by train'  
 (Turkish in Underhill (1976:159))

Noho 'o Pua me kāna keiki      'Pua stayed with her child'  
 Kākau 'oe me kēia penikala      'Write with this pen'  
 (Hawaiian in Elbert (1979:145))

è nu lāa ká      'He came with a knife'  
 è à kò lāa ká      'He made it with a knife'  
 (Southern and Eastern Mande in Welmers (1973:459))

The significant difference between the two meanings of the Homeric dative  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  and the later genitive construction is made clear using Lakoff's terminology. The Homeric sense of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  is indicative of a 'container schema' (Lakoff (1987:272)), as in (1) above. The group of persons or objects indicated by  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ 's plural inflection is conceived of as a container 'in', 'among', or 'between' which a referent is located. As a comitative, the group of referents is no longer conceived of as a container, but rather representative of a 'link schema' (Lakoff (1987:274)), as in (2) above. In such an instance, the referent need no longer be in the plural. As a comitative, such a syntactic restriction on  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 's nominal has disappeared. The subject need no longer be understood as located in a plurality of referents which together are conceived of as location. Rather, the subject is understood as being or acting in the company of the referent, which may be either one or many.

### c. Unidirectional semantic change

Traugott (1985a, 1985b, 1989, 1991) calls attention to 'regular', if not 'universal', paths of semantic change.

Traugott (1985b:231) remarks that the semantic history of a single lexical item (in that particular study, the Modern English 'again') could be representative of

wide-spread regularities, and thereby ... contribute to the growing body of evidence that semantic change may ultimately prove to be as subject to universalist analysis as historical phonology, morphology and syntax now are.

One such 'regular cognitive process', noted in Traugott (1985b:231ff), identifies the concepts of direction, opposition, and association as cognitively related in the minds of speakers of diverse languages. Such an association causes lexical items carrying one meaning to develop into the other unidirectionally: from a sense of direction, followed by one of opposition, and finally carrying the sense of association. Examples of such parallel developments include:

German wider 'against' (opposition) > German wieder 'again' (iteration) Traugott (1985b:237)

Latin postēa 'behind that' (location) > French puisque 'after that' (temporal) > 'since' (association) Traugott (1986:161)

Old English onġean 'facing' (location) > Middle English ayen 'against' (opposition) > Early Modern English again 'however' (association) Traugott (1985b:231ff)

To this may be added Greek πρός 'toward' (direction) > 'against' (opposition) > 'in addition to' (association).

Focussing on the semantic change of the Greek preposition *μετά*, the present study will provide additional data to affirm Traugott's claim. In Homer, *μετά* implied locative ('among, between') and directional ('toward') senses changed in later Greek to express association as a comitative preposition. While affirming claims for the unidirectionality and regularity of semantic change, this study will show that such generalizations can only account for the fact that *μετά*'s meaning changed from expressing a 'concrete' locative relation to more abstract temporal (with the accusative) and comitative (with the genitive) senses. Such an approach, however, cannot account for the motivation for this change and can reach conclusions regarding the motivation for *μετά*'s change in terms no less general than those of Wackernagel.

### **3. Issues to be addressed in this study**

I believe that previous analyses, such as those of Kühner and Wackernagel (quoted above), have failed to fully grasp the true nature of *μετά*'s transformation to an extent that they were able to accurately account for it. The philological tradition only noted the change, but did not explain its motivation. This is because they analyzed *μετά* exclusively as a lexico-semantic change. I propose that in order to accurately account for *μετά*'s semantic change, the word's change from a regular association with a dative

inflection in the Homeric dialect to its regular association with the genitive in post-Homeric literature must be taken into close consideration. This study will show that it is this reassociation with the genitive inflection that triggered the semantic change of *μετά* from a locative to a comitative meaning. Confined exclusively to neither semantics nor syntax, an account of this change must take both linguistic subdisciplines into consideration. No other approach can accurately account for the motivation that caused *μετά* to change in the first place. In order to account for this, the following questions must be addressed:

- Why would *μετά*'s inflection change from dative to genitive?
- Once associated with the genitive, what reason existed that *μετά* should express the comitative?

The answer to the first question cannot lie in the speculation that while the Greeks associated the dative with location they also associated the genitive with concomitance. Since the Indo-European instrumental and locative cases both coalesced into the Greek dative, it was natural that the comitative prepositions *ἄμα* and *σύν*, as well as the locative prepositions *μετά*, *μίγδα*, and *μέσφ* were all associated with dative. Because of this, *μετά* had little semantic motivation to reassociate with the genitive

either before or after it assumed a comitative meaning. However, when *μετά* assumed the meaning of *σύν*, the case in which its object occurred was consistently genitive. The Classical Greek genitive, while expressing ideas formerly connoted by the old Indo-European ablative, rarely carried an idea of instrumentality and never one of concomitance.<sup>7</sup> An explanation for *μετά*'s semantic change must therefore account for the association of the standard classical comitative preposition with the genitive.

In answering the second question above, two important facts must be recognized:

- The Greek language already had a highly used comitative preposition -- *σύν*, as well as the less frequently used prepositions *ἄμα* and *ὁμοῦ*.
- The Greek language had no one highly used preposition or adverb to take the place of *μετά* with the dative when it fell into disuse after Homer.

#### **4. How the study will proceed**

Since the grammatical categories underlying the use of prepositions and case inflections are at the foundation of

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<sup>7</sup> While the Greek genitive could connote a causal idea, this sense stemmed from the case's former identity with the Indo-European ablative. The relationship between Means and Source lies in a metaphor equating 'that by which something is done' is analogous to 'that from which something originates'. For an example of this, see *χειρὸς* in (8) below. This meaning, however, never carried the notion of concomitance nor was it ever denoted in conjunction with prepositions.



this study, each will be introduced from a semantic point of view. Understanding how the meanings of the two grammatical categories affect each other in a prepositional phrase will directly contribute to understanding one way which Greek prepositions changed in meaning. In order to accomplish this, this paper will begin, in the following chapter, by defining the relationship between the meanings expressed by case inflections and the similar semantic ideas expressed by the grammatical class of prepositions in ancient Greek. It will be shown how both prepositions and inflections have meanings independent of one another, but when the two occur in tandem a distinct meaning is oftentimes created on a phrasal level. This chapter will focus on exposing the manner in which the meanings of prepositions and inflections affect one another within the context of a prepositional phrase and how such an affectation will directly bear on explaining change in those meanings over time. While briefly straying from the specific topic of *μετά*'s semantic change, this chapter will conclude by solidly placing *μετά* in its morphosyntactic and semantic context.

Chapter III will fit *μετά* and each of the three cases associated with it into the theoretical framework presented in the previous chapter. Based on the discussion in Chapter II and employing Langacker's synchronic cognitive approach to word meaning, the diachronic evolution of *μετά* with the

accusative construction will be easily accounted for. This chapter will treat in detail the data reflecting the accusative construction's various meanings. This third chapter will argue for the validity of the theoretical discussion of the previous chapter, demonstrating clearly that the semantic value of a case inflection can easily affect the meaning of a preposition with which it commonly occurs in a phrasal context. The semantic change of the genitive construction from 'among' to 'with', however, will remain elusive when analyzed similarly based on the Homeric data. This chapter will continue by analyzing typical and atypical usages of *μετά* with dative and genitive objects in Homer and early Classical writers. Since the genitive construction was used infrequently in Homer and only intermittently in Aeschylus and Pindar, these uses will be examined for the purpose of determining whether they provide evidence of a transitional period spanning the periods in which the dative construction was regularly used, on the one hand, and the genitive construction was commonly employed, on the other.

Based on the theoretical discussion in Chapter II and the data presented in Chapter III, hypotheses will be set forth concerning the meaning of *μετά* with the genitive in early Greek literature as well as the motivation for its change. Upon completing this analysis, this study will

answer the following questions:

- Do the meanings of *μετά* with the dative and *μετά* with the genitive differ in Homeric literature? Do they differ in post-Homeric Greek literature?

- Why did *μετά*'s governed nominal change from dative to genitive?

- How did *μετά*'s meaning change from locative to comitative and how does this semantic change relate to the co-occurring change in inflectional association?

- What was the motivation for both the inflectional and semantic changes?

- If a comitative preposition already existed in the Greek language, what reason was there to create a second?

## **Chapter II. A short history of Greek inflections and their semantic relationship to prepositions**

### **1. Inflections**

The Greek language inherited the system of Indo-European case inflections. At a time quite before Homer, the Indo-European ablative case merged with the Greek genitive, and the Indo-European instrumental and locative cases merged with the Greek dative somewhat later. Because of this coalescence of the case categories, the ancient Greek genitive and dative cases were highly polysemous, each implying several different semantic ideas. One of the simplest ways of manifesting local relationships was by means of synthetic inflections. Though often replaced with prepositional constructions by later Greek writers, such use of bare inflections was still quite frequent in the Homeric corpus. This chapter will demonstrate that, though early syncretism infused into the various Greek cases a wide array of meanings, each had a prototypical sense and one or more peripheral ones.

#### **a. The Greek genitive**

Concerning the meaning of the genitive, Madvig (1873:40) notes:

The genitive in Greek denotes, in general, a connexion of dependence between the person or thing which is named in the genitive, and some other person or thing which is referred to it ... or ... an action or quality which goes to, is directed at (it).

Used adnominally, the genitive brought one substantive into a limiting relationship with another, as in:

3. σ' αὖ νῦν κέλομαι μεθέμεν χόλον υἱός (son-GEN)  
ἐοῖο (you-GEN)  
 'I now command you again to let go of your anger of  
 ('for', 'on account of') your son' Il.15.138

In this exhortation, some circumstance (in this instance the death) involving the addressee's son is considered an integral part of his anger. As such, by morphologically marking υἱός as genitive, the matter of the son's death is understood as directly connected with the addressee's emotion. By so making the existence of one referent dependent on the existence of another, the adnominal genitive also served to indicate the possession or attribute of a referent, as in:

4. εὐξάμενος δ' ἔπειτα Διός (Zeus-GEN) κόρην  
μεγάλου (great-GEN)  
 'And then he prayed to the daughter of great Zeus'  
 Od.24.521 (from Nikiforidou (1991:161))
5. τὸν γαῖα φέπει, Ἀνμήτερος (Demeter-GEN) ἀκτὴν  
 'That which the earth bears, the corn of Demeter'  
 Hes.WD.32

The adverbial sense of the genitive rested in its adnominal meaning:

... among the various uses of the Gen. in construction with a Verb the first to be noticed are those in which the Case evidently retains its attributive or adjectival character (Monro (1891:142)).

Just as the referent marked by the adnominal genitive was understood as a dependant part of a larger whole, its

adverbial use also marked an object as a part of a larger whole, as in:

6. 'Αδρήστοιο δ' ἔγνημε θυγατρῶν (daughters-GEN)  
'And he married (one) of the daughters of Adrestos'  
Il.14.121 (from Smyth (1956:329))
7. ὅς ᾧριστος ἔνν εἰδός ... τῶν (the-GEN) ἄλλων (other-GEN)  
Δαναῶν (Danaeans-GEN)  
'(Aias)...who was the finest in form of all the other Danaeans' Od.11.469-70

This denotation of a part from a whole -- used either adnominally or adverbially -- may be considered the genitive's most prototypical meaning. The prototypical genitive, whether adnominal or adverbial, brought an object into a limiting relationship in regards to another object or an action. In the chapters to follow, this prototypical meaning will simply be termed 'partitive'. Though the more and less prototypical meanings of the other inflectional cases will be referred to in terms of case roles (and therefore directly related to the verb of the sentence), this designation of the most prototypical meaning of the Greek genitive coincides with its adnominal origin.

Other senses of the genitive denoted the origin from which an action occurred and, adnominally, the material from which an object was made, as in:

8. ἡ δ' ἐμὲ χειρὸς ἐλοῦσα δόμων (house-GEN)  
'And she led me by her hand from the house' Od.15.465

The ability of the Greek genitive to denote the Source case role and the idea of constituent material came from its

former identity with the old ablative case. The meaning of the ablative is very close in meaning to the genitive's most prototypical 'partitive' sense. Nikiforidou (1991:173f) calls attention to this by remarking in Lakoffian terms that metaphorically 'WHOLES ARE ORIGINS' and 'CONSTITUENT MATERIAL IS ORIGIN'.

In addition to its partitive sense and denotation of Source, the genitive could also, with some verbs, denote Target. Nikiforidou (1991:158) gives the example of the phrase *παῖς Κορίνθου* as being ambiguous when taken out of context. The fact that the probable meaning is 'youth from Corinth' rather than 'youth going to Corinth' is based on the fact that the genitive's partitive and ablative senses are more prototypical than its sense of destination.

A fourth meaning of the Greek genitive was to denote the place at or in which an action was occurring:

9. ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος ... ἐιωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐὺρρεῖοις  
 (fresh-flowing-GEN) ποταμοῖο (river-GEN)  
 'Even as when a stalled horse would be turned loose to be bathed in a fresh-flowing river' Il.6.506-8

The locative sense demonstrated in this example is the least frequent among all of the genitive case's meanings and marks the former identity of the Indo-European ablative and locative cases.<sup>8</sup> This locative use of the genitive is more

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<sup>8</sup> On this point, Shields (1982:77) remarks that the old ablative, whose origin predated that of inflected locative case, served to mark the

common in the poetic tradition, particularly Homer. In later literature it is extremely rare.

#### b. The Greek dative

The dative was used most commonly to denote the Receptor of the verbal action. With the addition of the meanings previously conveyed by the old locative and instrumental case morphemes, the Greek dative added to its list of meanings 'location in', 'circumstance in', 'reason for', and 'manner by' which an action was performed, as well as the purely instrumental and comitative notions 'by means of' and 'in the company of'. In other words, in addition to signifying Receptor, the dative case inflection had the potential of realizing the Place and Means case roles as well. This polysemous state of the Greek dative is reflected in the following sentences:

10. Receptor (Fillmore's Benefactive case):  
 οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες οὐδὲ θανῶν λήσεσθαι ἐμοῖ (me-DAT) χόλου  
 εἵνεκα τευχέων  
 'In death were you not able to forget your anger for me  
 because of the weapons?' Od.11.553-4
11. Means:  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ τόν γ' ἐπέεσσιν (words-DAT) καθάπτεσθαι  
μαλακοῖσιν (gentle-DAT)  
 'But you addressed him with gentle words' Il.1.582

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locative function, i.e., the locative was one of its secondary functions ....

This can be seen in *μετά*'s Sanskrit cognate. Madhyas 'in the middle', regularly took a genitive object when it was used prepositionally, since the Indo-European locative merged by and large with the Sanskrit genitive.



12. Means:  
 ἐξ οὗ δὴ μ' Αἰτωλὸς ἀνὴρ ἐξήπαφε μύθῳ (story-DAT)  
 'Ever since a man of Aitolia deceived me with a story'  
 Od.14.379
13. Means (comitative):  
 χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ αὐτῇσιν (themselves-DAT)  
ρίζῃσι (roots-DAT)  
 'He throws to the ground tall trees with their very roots' Il.9.541-2
14. Place:  
 τόξ' ὤμοισιν (shoulders-DAT) ἔχων  
 'While holding the bow upon his shoulders' Il.1.45

The prototypical meaning of dative, then, lay in its grammatical function of denoting Receptor, i.e. the person or thing 'to' or 'for' whom an action is performed. The inherited meanings from the Indo-European locative and instrumental cases added to the dative the secondary meanings of Place and Means.

The various meanings of the genitive and dative cases relevant to this study can be summarized as follows:

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**Chart 1. Meaning of the Greek Genitive and Dative Cases**

	Dative Inflection	Genitive Inflection
most prototypical....	Receptor.....	partitive
less prototypical....	Place.....	Source
	Means	Target
		Place

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**c. The Greek accusative**

The Greek accusative case primarily denoted the Target case role. Since this study is occupied with the Place, Means, and Target case roles and the inflectional accusative

never realized either Place or Means, the Target case role is the only one which shall be treated in connection with the accusative in the analyses to follow.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. Limitations of synthetic noun phrases

The limitations of synthetic inflections to denote such a broad array of meanings is obvious. Since the synthetic dative, for example, could express concomitance and instrumentality as well as location, the possibility for confusion was ever near at hand. As an example of this ambiguity, take the sentence:

15. ἀντί νυ πολλῶν λαῶν ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ὃν τε Ζεὺς  
     κῆρι (heart-DAT) φιλήσῃ  
     'As good as many warriors is the man whom Zeus loves  
     in/with his heart' Il.9.116-7

In this sentence, context does not make clear whether the instrumental or locative sense of the dative is intended; that is, whether Zeus loves 'within his heart' or 'by means of his heart'. Though Monro (1891:139) notes that the bare dative case inflection implied the locative less frequently than the instrumental, noted translators and scholars of Homer, such as Buckley (1870:154), Lejnieks (1964:70), and Lattimore (1951:201), among others, interpret κῆρι in

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<sup>9</sup> This summary of the various meanings of the Greek case inflections is by no means comprehensive. The Greek genitive and dative could realize other underlying cases as well, such as Agent and Time. Because agency and time are in no way related to the present study, they will remain untreated. Also to remain untreated will be metaphorical senses of inflections and prepositions which stray too far from their original spatial meanings.

Il.9.116 as locative.

The example of *παῖς Κορινθίου* from Nikiforidou (1991:158) was given above in section 1.a. as an example of the genitive sometimes being ambiguous as to whether it implied Source or Target. Palmer (1963:131) makes a similar point by noting that, without a verb, the noun phrase *πόλεμος Ἀχαιῶν* leaves it ambiguous whether the war is 'by' (Agent), 'against' (Target), or 'on behalf of' (Receptor) the Achaeans.

### 3. Adverbs and prepositions

It was to clear up this ambiguity that adverbs came to be used in conjunction with synthetic inflectional constructions. Knieza (1986:424) remarks that

... the case system even at its fullest could express only the basic adverbial relations by simple morphological means.

Though the orthography of Greek adverbs often reflected an earlier association with one inflectional category or another<sup>10</sup>, the Greek adverbs 'governed' no cases, nor did

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<sup>10</sup> The functional and semantic similarity of Greek adverbs with inflections was often paralleled by a similarity in form, which is evidenced by the former's retention of the case inflection from which they originally derived. A particularly striking example existed in the preposition *ἐν*, whose dative extended form existed in Homer as *ἐνι* (*ἐν*+ dative *-ι*). The similarly derived accusative form *\*ενς*, however, existed only in the already abbreviated form *ἐς*, which in the Homeric dialect alternated with, and in later Greek was completely replaced by, *εἰς* (see especially Neuberger-Donath (1988)). The morpheme *-τα*, in *μετά* and *κατά*, is generally understood to be a Proto-Greek ablative suffix, extinct in Homeric and Classical Greek.

they in any way affect the inflections of other words in the sentence. For example:

16. μετὰ (in the midst) δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 'And in their midst (was) the bright-eyed Athena'  
 Il.2.446

As an adverb, μετὰ in this example indicated the locative relationship of interposition. As an adverb it remains aloof of any syntactic relationship with other words in the sentence, committing itself to a close affiliation with neither verb nor noun. Examples of such adverbs are numerous in Homer, who did not always draw explicit lines between adverbs and prepositions.

Such sentence adverbs did not remain autonomous long, however. When certain adverbs regularly came to be associated with one category of inflections or another, the two units of speech became so closely identified with each other in certain constructions that one rarely occurred without the other. A preposition, then, came to be distinguished from an adverb when it was consistently used in conjunction with a substantive, such conjunctive use usually being syntactically marked by the preposition's close proximity to the substantive, and morphologically marked its occurrence with a certain inflection or group of inflections.

In Homer, but even more often in later literature, bare inflectional constructions were replaced by prepositional

phrases. For example, rather than a bare dative inflection, the comitative preposition σύν came to be used in conjunction with the dative to express instrumentality and accompaniment, as in:

17. Accompaniment:

ἀλλά με κακῆσαι σύν (with) τεύχεσιν (arms-DAT), ἄσσα μοι  
ἔστιν  
'But burn me with the arms that are mine' Od.11.74

18. Instrumentality:

ἄειραν αὐτῷ σύν τε λίῳ (sheet-DAT) καὶ ρήγῃ (rug-DAT)  
σιγαλόεντι (bright-DAT)  
'They lifted him with (i.e. 'by means of') both a sheet  
and bright rug' Od.13.117-8

A variety other of prepositions -- ἐν, ἐπί, κατά, etc. -- associated with the dative to express the different facets of the locative.

In many instances, then, adverbs, case inflections, and prepositional phrases could express identical ideas. Take for example the following sentences in which the location of the referent inside another referent is expressed equally well by ἐν used adverbially (19), the synthetic dative (20), and by the preposition ἐν with the dative (21):

19. ἐν (in) δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι  
'And men live therein' Il.9.154

20. Ἄρνη (Arne-DAT) ναιετόντα Μενέσθιον  
'As Menesthios dwelled in Arne' Il.7.9

21. ὃς ἐν (in) Ἠλίδι (Elis-DAT) ναιετάσκει  
'A man who dwelled in Elis' Il.11.673

Despite the semantic similarities of these sentences, prepositional phrases had the ability to express local

relationships in an even more precise way than independent inflections and adverbs were able to. *év* in (21) indicates not only that the locative aspect of the dative is intended, but also the exact nature of the locative relation, i.e. that the referent is located 'in' the house, as opposed to 'on', 'by', or 'outside of' it. The synthetic dative of (20), on the other hand, could only give a very general idea of location.

#### **4. Semantic relationship between inflections and prepositions**

When certain prepositions and inflections were regularly used together they tended to affect one another semantically. This manifested itself in one of two ways: either the preposition 'reinforced' the somewhat vague meaning of the bare inflection or the use of a particular inflection 'determined' one of a polysemous preposition's several meanings. The terms are from Kuryłowicz:

Adverbs determining the meaning of the verb became reinforcements of case-forms under favorable semantic conditions, viz. if their meaning agrees with the value of the concurrent cases - or else they specify the spatial relation expressed by the case-form. (1964:178)

... the ending of the case-form functions as a determinant of the preposition, thus rendering its value (i.e. that of the preposition) precise. (1964:176)

Kuryłowicz (1964:176ff) treats reinforcement and determination as two stages through which prepositions pass diachronically in Indo-European languages. The former leads

to the latter and the end result is usually the preposition's total assumption of all spatial connotations, followed by the language's subsequent loss of a productive inflectional system, as occurred in English, medieval and modern Greek, and the Romance languages. However, this is not to say that all prepositions of a language will all pass from one stage to another at the same time. On the contrary, at a given time certain prepositions will pass from a reinforcing to a determining function, while others remain as reinforcements of case inflections. Since this was what happened in both Homeric and Classical Greek, this study will treat the two relationships as synchronic phenomena, the number of cases with which a particular preposition associates being the determinant of which stage a particular preposition is in (and therefore which relationship it shares with the inflection).

To help apply these theories of reinforcement and determination to Greek prepositions, the following sort of graphic representation will be employed:

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**Chart 2. Reinforcement and Determination<sup>11</sup>**

Independent Meanings of Individual PREPOSITIONS, each Capable of Expressing one or More of the Following Relationships:		Independent Meanings of Individual INFLECTIONS, each Capable of Expressing one or More of the Following Relationships:	
Place	_____>	Place	
Target	<b>reinforcement</b>	Target	
Agent		Receptor	
Means		Means	
possession	<_____	Agent	
etc...	<b>determination</b>	possession, etc...	

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In Chart 2, more and less prototypical meanings of prepositions and inflections (reflected as case roles) that shall be addressed in this study are listed in the two columns: prepositions on the left and inflections on the right. The arrows which span the two columns reflect the two 'governing' relationships that potentially exist in a given prepositional phrase. A left-to-right arrow indicates 'reinforcement', in which the meaning of the preposition specifies the meaning of the inflection. A right-to-left arrow indicates 'determination', in which the meaning of the inflection specifies the meaning of the preposition. In the charts to follow only one arrow will appear, since in no instances do both a 'reinforcing' and 'determining' relationship exist in a single phrase.

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<sup>11</sup> The format of this chart is based loosely on that presented in Stolz (1990).



### a. Reinforcement

Concerning the first of the two ways prepositions and inflections interrelate semantically, 'reinforcement' developed in the Indo-European language family when adverbs were used to 'support the meaning of the case' (Schmalstieg (1989:272)).<sup>12</sup> In this way, the meaning of the preposition refined and made more explicit the rather general spatial meaning that the inflection would otherwise carry alone. This gave the prepositional phrase a meaning which the inflection could not by itself imply -- or at best, only imply ambiguously -- 'furthering the fuller expression of thought and specifying various relationships between objects or between actions and objects' (Hill (1977:19)). The preposition in a reinforcing relationship added supplementary meaning to the bare inflection, a meaning which the inflection carried in part, but due to its polysemous nature could be confused with other meanings, as is shown in the familiar example:

ἀντί νυ πολλῶν λαῶν ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ὃν τε Ζεὺς  
κῆρι (heart-DAT) φιλήσῃ  
 'As good as many warriors is the man whom Zeus loves  
in/with his heart' Il.9.116-7 (sentence (15))

This elucidary function of prepositions to present in a

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<sup>12</sup> This concurs with Buck (1933:171) who states that prepositions 'expressed all that case forms expressed and more precisely' and Hammond (1926:131): 'The use of (Latin) prepositions developed when cases alone became inadequate to express complex new thoughts'. See also Curme (1982:355f) concerning prepositional reinforcement in German.

more exact manner the ambiguous meaning of the case inflection was at work in the ancient Greek language primarily when only one case inflection was associated with a given preposition, such as ἄμα, ἐν, and σὺν with the dative, εἰς with the accusative, and ἐκ and ἀπό with the genitive. Taking σὺν and ἐν as an example, reinforcement may be graphically represented as follows:

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**Chart 3. Reinforcement**

<b>Preposition: σὺν</b>	<b>Inflection: Dative</b>
Means	Receptor
	Place
	> <b>Means</b> = 'in the company of', 'by means of'
 <b>Preposition: ἐν</b>	 <b>Inflection: Dative</b>
Place	Receptor
	> <b>Place</b> = 'in'
	Means

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Since the synthetic dative could indicate Place as well as Means, the preposition in a reinforcing situation indicated one among the several possible relationships that a particular case inflection might denote. The preposition adds to the inflection its own independent meaning, which strengthens and specifies the meaning of the synthetic inflection. Compare, for example, the two sentences:

22. ἀλώμενος ... υἱ (ship-DAT) τε καὶ ἐτάροις (comrades  
-DAT)  
'You have come ... with both ship and comrades'  
Od.11.160-1

23. νῦν δ' ὧδε ξύν (with) νῆϊ (ship-DAT) κατήλυθον ἡδ' ἑτάροισιν (comrades-DAT)  
'In this way I now put in with ship and comrades'  
Od.1.182

In both sentences the comitative aspect of the instrumental dative is implied: with the inflected noun phrase alone in the first instance and with a preposition governing the dative in the second. Other examples of this include:

24. Dative expressing concomitance and location:  
αὐτῷ (with) αὐτῷ (him-DAT) οἴκῳ (house-DAT) ἐν (in)  
Αἰγίσθοιο θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπέσπον  
'They died and met their fate with him in the house of Aigisthos' Od.11.388-9
25. Ablative-genitive expressing cause:  
ἀλλ' οὐ σοί γ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, φόνος ἔσσεται ἐκ (from) γε γυναικός (woman)  
'But for you, Odysseus, will death not be from a woman'  
Od.11.444
26. Accusative expressing direction:  
κρύβδην ... φίλῃν (beloved-ACC) εἰς (into) πατρίδα γαῖαν (native land-ACC) νῆα κατισχέμεναι  
'Bring your ship secretly ... into your beloved native land' Od.11.455-6
27. Dative expressing instrument:  
ἔφθνε πεζὸς ἰὼν ἢ ἐγὼ σὺν νῆϊ (ship-DAT) μελαίνῃ (black)  
'You arrived first by going on foot than I did with the black ship' Od.11.58

In these examples, when compared with the uses of the synthetic inflection, by adding to the meaning of the inflection the more specific semantic ideas present in the prepositions, a more precise meaning is created on a phrasal level than could otherwise be implied by the inflection alone.

Kurylowicz (1964:176) remarks that the function of

prepositions as reinforcing the meaning of inflections is a redundancy since the preposition could easily connote the same information with or without the inflection. After all, a preposition such as ἐν ('in') clearly implies location rather than direction or origination and therefore its occurrence in conjunction with the locative-dative inflection is unnecessary. Such a theory of redundancy, however, is not applicable to the Greek language at this stage. Rather, it is more representative of other languages, in which the preposition carries all the meaning and the inflection is no longer functioning semantically. This was not so in Homeric and Classical Greek. What Curme (1982:356, n.4) says about modern German is true for ancient Greek:

Sometimes the same relations are expressed by a preposition and case as by case alone, and sometimes by changing the preposition the idea may receive a new shade.... Perhaps the prepositional construction is never entirely equal to the case construction, as the preposition often brings out more prominently some circumstance as cause, reason, etc.

#### **b. Determination**

The second kind of relationship between the meanings of inflections and prepositions is for the meaning of the inflection to determine one of a preposition's several meanings. This relationship is stated in explicit terms in Wenham (1965:64):

Prepositions do not, strictly speaking, 'govern'

the cases of the nouns which they precede. The case is really the governing element in the expression; the preposition only serves to make clear the exact sense in which the case is used.

The ability of the inflection to 'determine' the meaning of the preposition is evidenced primarily by the prepositions which are associated with more than one case. Among such prepositions, the use of one inflection or another will completely change the sense of the prepositional phrase as a whole or even that of the preposition itself. In instances of this sort of relationship, the sundry meanings intrinsic to the case inflections determine the meanings of the prepositions. In other words, when a preposition is associated with three different inflections (the maximum number possible in Greek) at least three different meanings are possible for the prepositional phrase. In this way, the meaning of the preposition may be directly affected by the meaning of the case, bestowing upon the prepositional phrase, in the simplest of circumstances, an ablative sense in conjunction with the genitive inflection, a locative sense when the dative is employed, and a sense of direction in the company of an accusative inflection. As an example of this, note the different nuances of the prepositional phrases below. In each, ὑπό is used with a different inflection, each inflection changing the overall phrasal meaning:

28. ὑπὸ (under) δ' ἤρεον ἔρματα νῆων (ships-GEN)  
'And they took away the props from under the ships'  
Il.2.154 (Source)<sup>13</sup>
29. αἰσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ (under) Ἰλίου (Ilion-ACC) ἦλθε  
'And the ill-favored men came under (the walls of)  
Ilion' Il.2.216 (Target)
30. καὶ πῦρ ἀνέκαιε πολλὸν ὑπὸ (under) τρίποδι (tripod-DAT)  
μεγάλῳ (big-DAT)  
'And he lit a great fire under the big tripod'  
Od.10.358-9 (Place)

Note that regardless of which inflection is employed, ὑπό's lexical meaning of 'under' remains regardless of the additional semantic information introduced into the phrase by the inflection.<sup>14</sup> Each of the prepositional phrases in the above three sentences may be respectively represented as follows:

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**Chart 4. Determination In Relation to ὑπό**

	<b>Preposition: <u>ὑπό</u></b>	<b>Inflection: genitive</b>
'from under' =	'under' <—	partitive
		<b>Source</b>
		Target
		Place
	<b>Preposition: <u>ὑπό</u></b>	<b>Inflection: accusative</b>
'to under' =	'under' <—	<b>Target</b>

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<sup>13</sup> The possible role of tmesis in this matter could be explored further in another study.

<sup>14</sup> By and large this analysis treats the grammatical categories of inflections and prepositions as they refer to spatial relations, such as location, accompaniment, and so forth. Of course, the Greek prepositions expressed non-spatial relations between nominals as well. Because this study focuses on spatial relationships, metaphorical meanings which stray too far from a word's central spatial sense will remain largely untreated.

'positioned under' = 'under'	<b>Preposition:</b> ὑπό	<b>Inflection:</b> dative
	<	Receptor
	_____	<b>Location</b>
	_____	<b>Means</b>

It is clear that *μετά* fits into this second category of prepositions. However, whereas the overall phrasal meaning was affected in the examples of ὑπό above, it will be shown that *μετά*'s very lexical meaning changed with its occurrence with different inflections. With the dative in Homer, *μετά* indicated a referent's location 'between' or 'among' other referents. Its association with other inflections came to convey entirely different meanings. By understanding the meaning of the inflection as determining *μετά*'s lexical meaning, the genesis of the preposition's accusative and genitive meanings will become clear in the chapters to follow.

### Chapter III. The semantic change of *μετά*

#### 1. An overview of *μετά* in Homer

Having laid a foundation for understanding how inflections and prepositions affect the meanings of one another, this chapter will show how such a relationship between prepositions and inflections can lead to the semantic change of a preposition.

Representative of the various Homeric uses of *μετά* that shall be addressed in this chapter are the following:

31. *πῆδάλιον μετὰ (between) χερσὶ (hands-DAT) θεούσης νηὸς ἔχοντα*  
'While he held a steering oar of the speeding ship between his hands' Od.3.281<sup>15</sup>
32. *ἔρεσσον ἐὼν μετ' (among) ἐμοῖς (me-DAT) ἐτάροισιν (companions-DAT)*  
'I rowed among my companions' Od.11.78
33. *Ἔη δὲ μετ' (after) ἄλλας (others-ACC) ψυχὰς (souls-ACC) εἰς Ἔρεβος νεκύων κατατεθνήτων*  
'And they went in pursuit of the other souls of the spirits of the dead into Erebus' Od.11.563-4
34. *μετ' (among) ἄλλων (others-GEN) λέξο ἐταίρων (companions-GEN)*  
'You were laid among the other companions' Od.10.320

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<sup>15</sup> While potentially understood as an early comitative, an appropriate gloss therefore being 'with his hands', the Homeric dative *μετά* implied interposition only. This is made evident in analogous constructions referring to an object's location between a person's legs, as in:

*πέσῃ μετὰ (between) ποσσὶ (feet-DAT) γυναικός*  
'(He) fell (from) between the woman's feet' Il.19.110 (reference to birth)

Such a sentence clearly affords no comitative interpretation.



Sentences similar to (31), (32), and (33) are common in Homer. In (31) and (32), *μετά* is used with the characteristic dative plural inflection and carries the sense of interposition, translating into English as 'between' or 'among'. In (33), *μετά* is used with the accusative to mean 'after, in pursuit of'. Sentence (34) presents an example (one of five) of *μετά* being used with a genitive inflection in Homer.

## 2. *μετά* in Homer

### a. *μετά* with the dative in Homer

Homer inherited the construal of *μετά* with the dative-locative case form from older Greek dialects, like Mycenaean:

35. pi-ru-te ... MEN 50 me-ta-qe (among-and) pe-i (them-DAT)  
 ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo  
 'Fifty men from Piru, and among them Rouko, son of  
 Kusamenos' PY57 (from Chadwick (1973:190), capitalized  
 words and numerals represent Mycenaean ideographs)

In Homer, *μετά* was retained with a similar inflection and meaning as was evidenced in (31) and (32) above, as well as the following:

36. ἢ τ' ἔριν 'Ατρεΐδῃσι (sons of Atrius-DAT) μετ'  
 (between) ἄμφοτέροισιν (both-DAT) ἔθηκε  
 'She caused strife between both the sons of Atrius'  
 Od.3.136

In previous examples, *μετά* denoted a strictly spatial relation. In (36), on the other hand, its meaning was extended to refer to a non-spatial relation, though the idea of interposition was retained nonetheless. In this

instance, an argument is conceived of as occurring 'between' two individuals, just as the oar of (31) was understood as located 'between' an individual's two hands.

Traugott (1989 and 1986:137) proposes that on a cross-linguistic level, the original meanings of various parts of speech (including prepositions, connectives, and adverbial particles) tend to originally reflect spatial relations in the physical realm of experience.<sup>16</sup> These meanings then undergo various semantic changes, bringing them to reflect temporal or other abstract relations or to become grammaticalized. Based on Traugott's conclusions, it follows that of the various meanings of *μετά* in Homeric literature it was this idea of interposition that can be considered its original and primary lexical meaning from which other meanings developed. However, with the polifery of other meanings, *μετά* lost this meaning entirely.

#### **b. *μετά* with the accusative in Homer**

By considering *μετά*'s dative-locative meaning its original sense, then all (dative and accusative) senses of *μετά* in Homer become readily explainable. One example was given above in (36), in which the dative *μετά*'s spatial sense was extended metaphorically to include a non-spatial relation. A similar such extension explains the use of *μετά*

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<sup>16</sup> Classicists of the nineteenth century, such as Delbrück (1879:132), already recognized this and applied it to *μετά*.

with the accusative to indicate direction. This sense itself developed into a method of expressing comparison, sequence, and time.<sup>17</sup> Rather than a simple extension of its lexical meaning, however, this section will show that *μετὰ* would not have developed these non-spatial meanings without its lexical meaning having been affected by the separate meaning of the accusative case inflection within a phrasal environment.

*μετὰ* with the accusative could sometimes serve as a realization of the Place case role in a way not dissimilar to the dative construction. The presence of the accusative inflection is generally justified by the concurrent use of a verb of motion in the sentence, as in:

37. ἔφερον ... ἄρμα *μετὰ* (between/among) Τρώας (Trojans-ACC)  
 καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς (Achaeans-ACC)  
 'I drove the chariot between/among the Trojans and  
 Achaeans' Il.11.533 (*μετὰ* = 'between the midsts/among')

In this example, *μετὰ* with the accusative is used with a verb of motion (φέρω) to express movement between two referents. As such, *μετὰ* with the accusative reflects the referent's location, in this instance its location between the Trojan and Achaean forces. This is not always so,

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<sup>17</sup> Palmer (1963:143) states and Cunliffe (1963:265) implies that the development of the accusative *μετὰ* into a temporal marker is strictly post-Homeric. Though sequence and time are sometimes difficult to distinguish, there seem to be at least a few Homeric constructions which require a temporal interpretation. Among these are Od.22.352 (see sentence (44)), Il.18.96, and Il.24.575.

however. Take, for example, the following sentence:

38. νεκρὸς ἔρυσαν μετὰ (among) ἑσθλῶν (host-ACC) Ἀχαιῶν  
 'They dragged the bodies into the host of Achaeans'  
 Il.5.573 (μετὰ = 'into the midst')

In this instance, μετὰ ἑσθλῶν might be understood as reflecting the Place case role just as μετὰ Τρώας καὶ Ἀχαιοῦς was in (37). If interpreted in this way, the mass noun ἑσθλῶν would represent 'the midst' among whom the referents were dragged. However, from the context of the larger passage, the prepositional phrase is more likely to reflect the Target case role, the 'host' being the destination of the referent's action, not its location. In this instance, μετὰ retains its original locative sense of interposition while the accusative inflection brings to the phrase a definite sense of direction. This ambiguity regarding the realization of either Place or Target case form was not always present, however:

39. ὅν δὲ μετ' (after) ἄλλας (other) ψυχὰς (souls-ACC) εἰς Ἑρεβὸς νεκρῶν κατατεθνῶτων  
 'And they went in pursuit of the other souls of the spirits of the dead into Erebus' Od.11.563-4 (μετὰ = toward, after the midst)

In (39), no degree of ambiguity exists regarding μετὰ's realization of either Place or Target case. It is here that, in addition to supporting a verb of motion, the accusative unambiguously introduces into the prepositional phrase a sense of direction and therefore reflects the Target case role. In keeping with the representations

previously employed, the determining relation that the accusative inflection shares with  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  may be represented as follows:

Chart 5. Semantic Change of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$   
due to Determination of the Accusative Inflection

'in the midst of'	=	Preposition: $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'among' <—	Inflection: dative Receptor Place Means
'into the midst of'	=	Preposition: $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'among' <—	Inflection: accusative Target

In this way, the original meaning of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ , understood as 'among, in the midst', assumed a directional quality, rendered 'into the midst' when accompanied by an accusative inflection.

It is by means of this development that all the various meanings of the accusative constructions become understandable. In (39), the use of an accusative rather than a dative inflection changed the meaning of the prepositional phrase. The examples to follow demonstrate that the regular association of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with an accusative case inflection affected the preposition's very lexical meaning. When the implication existed that the action (i.e. motion 'into' a group of referents) was not completed, the sense of the construction was 'toward, in the direction of the midst', as in:

40. πλέων ... ἐς Τεμέσων μετὰ (after) χαλκόν (copper-ACC)  
 While I sail to Temese after copper' Od.1.183-4 (μετὰ =  
 'after, in pursuit of')

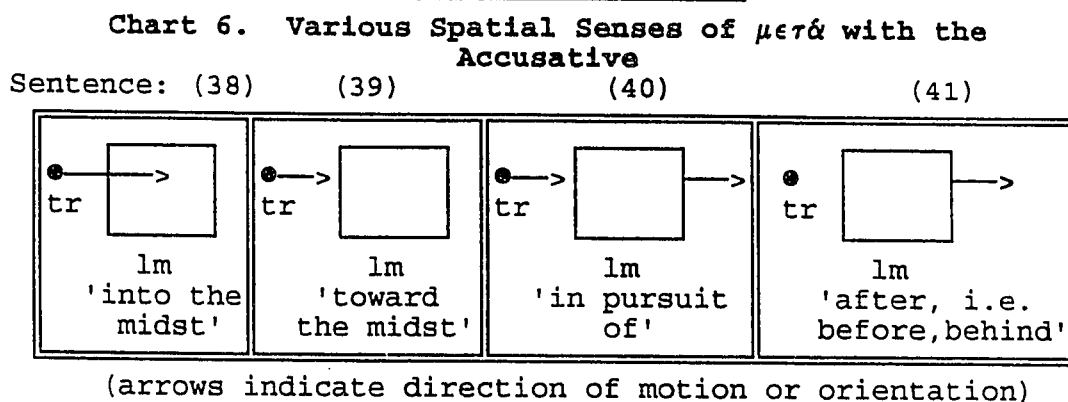
Both (39) and (40) show that when 'the midst' was conceived of as moving or somehow elusive of the referent moving toward it, μετὰ often assumed the meaning of 'in pursuit of, after'. While, in (39), μετὰ is used with the traditional plural inflection, plurality is not necessary with the accusative construction, as is seen in (40).

Adopting the 'trajector-landmark' terminology of Langacker (1986:7f), the relationship of the meaning 'after, towards', and 'behind', becomes evident. Take for example:

41. τόφρα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι μεθ' (behind) ἡμιόνους (mules-ACC)  
καὶ ὄμαρον (wagon-ACC) καρπαλίμως ἔρχεσθαι  
 'Meanwhile (you) swiftly go with the handmaids behind  
the mules and wagon' Od.6.260-1 (μετὰ = 'behind')

In previous sentences (37, 38, and 39) the landmark (lm) was neutral ('unbiased') in regards to its direction or orientation. This is to say that the trajector (tr) could be conceived of as entering into or moving toward the landmark regardless of the direction the landmark happened to be facing or moving. This, however, is not so in (41) in which the landmark (the group consisting of the mules and wagon) is clearly facing a particular direction (i.e. it is 'biased'). When this is the situation, the location of the trajector may be conceived of as either before or after the landmark. In (41), there exists a line of objects beginning with one point and stretching backwards linearly.

With the group consisting of the mules and wagon understood as the landmark, the handmaids are clearly located 'after' them. This concept of 'after' being equated to the location of one referent behind another is similarly expressed in English in a sentence such as 'John stood after Mary in the line to buy tickets'. In this example, John's location is clearly behind that of Mary. The various senses of *μετά* with the accusative examined thus far are shown graphically in Chart 6.



It is in *μετά* with the accusative's meaning of 'behind' that the key lies to understanding *μετά*'s non-spatial sense in the following:

42. ὃς ἄριστος ἔνν εἶδος ... τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' (after) ἀμύμονα (blameless-ACC) Πηλεΐωνα (son of Peleus-ACC)  
'(Aias)...who was the finest in form of all the other Danaeans after the blameless son of Peleus' Od.11.469-70

Similar to the 'GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN' metaphor of Lakoff and Johnson (1980:16), 'ahead' is considered subjectively good and 'behind' less so. Therefore in (42), Aias was

'before' the son of Peleos in regards to 'fineness of form' as the handmaidens of (41) were before mules in terms of space (Aias and the handmaidens being the trajectors and the son of Peleos and the mules being the landmarks). The senses of *μετά* in the following sentences are likewise understandable when the spatial schema is mapped onto sequential and temporal ones:

43. *Τὴν* (her-ACC) *δὲ μετ'* (after) *Ἀντιόπην ἶδον*  
 'After her I saw Antiope' Od.11.260 (*μετά* = 'next')
44. *πωλεύμην μνηστῆρσιν ἀεισόμενος μετὰ* (after) *δοῖτας*  
 (meal-ACC)  
 'I was wont to come to the suitors singing after their meal' Od.22.352 (*μετά* = 'after, following')

In (43), the speaker first sees 'her' (landmark) and then Antiope (trajector), the former preceding the later in sequence. In (44), Penelope's singing is the landmark, before which the meal (the trajector) takes place in time. Like in the immediately preceding analysis of (41), a point exists in relation to which the locations of various referents are understood. While the line extending from the point was a string of objects or persons in (41), the 'line' in (43) and (44) is one of events as they are occurring in a sequential order or period of time. Additionally, while the line extended backwards in (41), it stretches forward in (43) and (44). In these instances, rather than understood as located in a position preceding the landmark, the trajectors of (43) and (44) are understood as in front of



their respective landmarks.

In this way, the extension of *μετά*'s original locative meaning is readily explicable, and even natural, because of the regular close proximity and subsequent semantic influence of the accusative case inflection upon *μετά*. This change in meaning fits easily into the studies of semantic change by Traugott (1985b, 1989) (to be discussed fully in the Postscript), which show that such change is unidirectional from a 'concrete' meaning to one which is more abstract. Indeed, after Homer, examples of *μετά* with the accusative expressing the spatial ideas of 'in pursuit of' and 'behind' were extremely limited. The prepositional phrase more often expressed sequence, comparison, and time.

#### c. *μετά* with the genitive in Homer

By taking into consideration the semantic value of the accusative inflection and its ability to affect *μετά*, the connection between the primary locative sense of *μετά* and its developed sequential, comparative, and temporal meanings are readily explicable. This is not so with the five Homeric uses of *μετά* with a genitive inflection. These five constructions are as follows:<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> While certain of the verbs in these five sentences (*πίνω*, *έσθίω*, *πειράω*, and *πάλλω*) often take genitive objects, such use of the genitive indicated the object which is drunk, eaten, striven against, etc. In such instances, the Target of the verb is indicated by the genitive and the genitive's partitive sense indicated that only a portion of the object was affected. If the whole of the object were

45. μετὰ (among/with) Βοιωτῶν (Boeotians-GEN) ἐμάχοντο  
'They fought among/with the Boeotians' Il.13.700
46. οὐδὲ μεθ' (among/with) ἡμέων (us-GEN) πειρᾷ ὥς κε Τρῶες  
ὑπερφίαλοι ἀπόλωνται  
'He does not strive among/with us while we destroy the  
arrogant Trojans' Il.21.458-9
47. τῶν (them-GEN) μέτ᾽ (among/with) παλλόμενος κλήρῳ λάχων  
ἐνθάδ' ἔπεσθαι  
'When I shook the lots among/with them and (it was) my  
destiny to come' Il.24.400
48. μετ' (among/with) ἄλλων (others-GEN) λέξο ἑταίρων  
(companions-GEN)  
'You were laid among/with the other companions'  
Od.10.320
49. Λαέρτη ... μετὰ (among/with) δμῶων (servants-GEN) τ'  
ἐνὶ οἴκῳ πίνει καὶ ἔσθ'  
'Laertes both drinks and eats among/with the slaves in  
the house' Od.16.140-1

There is little agreement among Classicists and translators as to the precise meaning of the Homeric genitive construction. Ameis (1965:45), Capelle (1968:382), and Leaf (1960:51) interpret them all as locative expressions, differing little in meaning from the use of the regular dative inflection. These conclusions are surely

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affected, such as the entire contents of a decanter being drunk or a whole meal being consumed, then the object would be in the accusative. In such uses, the genitive and accusative cases are functioning in a similar manner, both as realizations of the Target case with the genitive additionally introducing into the sentence its partitive sense. Clearly, such uses of the genitive are completely dissimilar from the use of the genitive inflection with μετὰ in concurrence with the verbs in (45)-(49). If not dissimilar, such a meaning would lead to translations such as 'Fight among/with a portion of the Boeotians' and 'Eat among/with part of the servants'. While certainly intelligible translations, there is no reason to assume that this is the meaning Homer intended.

based on the revered opinions of Ebeling (1885:1075), Mommsen (1876:51), and Delbrück (1893:III:742). Liddell and Scott (1972:1109) suggest that the genitive construction tended to express a 'closer union' between the referents than did the dative. Autenreith (1876:188), Kühner (1898:I.2.506), and Chantraine (1898:119) treat some of the five constructions as locative and others as comitative without explaining the rationale they employed in determining which is which. Other scholars remain strangely silent on the subject. Palmer (1963:143f), for instance, discusses in detail the meanings of the Homeric prepositions when they appear with their various case forms. *μετά* with the dative is predictably classified as a locative. Such a classification perhaps implies that he considers the five genitive uses analogous in meaning to the dative and therefore unnecessary of treatment, though he never states this explicitly. This contrasts with his analyses of other prepositions. For example, in his examination of the case associations of *ἐπί* and *περί* he concludes that they express local relations when used in conjunction with a genitive case inflection. Even *ἀνά*, appearing only three times with the genitive in the Homeric corpus, is so classified. Palmer, however, while noting the occurrence of *μετά* with the genitive in Homer, never takes a stand on its meaning. Seiler (1878:416) and Cunliffe (1963:265) remain non-

committal, translating the *μετά* with the genitive as either locative or comitative, though the former tends toward the comitative. Though not treating all prepositions in detail, the vocabulary lists in Pharr (1986:365) define *μετά* with the genitive in Homer as exclusively comitative. Monro (1891:198) admits the two constructions from the *Odyssey* as indicative

that the (genitive) use had crept into colloquial language as early as the *Odyssey*, taking the place of *σύν* with the Dative.

He explains away the genitive constructions in the *Iliad* as either later additions (a conclusion similarly reached by both Palmer (1963:143) and Meillet (1963:521-2) in regards to Il.13.700) or as indicative of some other non-comitative meaning (as did Leaf (1960:565) in regards to Il.24.400).<sup>19</sup>

### 3. *μετά* after Homer

Before analyzing in detail the atypical Homeric passages and drawing any conclusions concerning them, it would be useful to first contrast them with post-Homeric uses of *μετά* with dative and genitive objects.

In literature after Homer, *μετά* with the dative was used as infrequently as was the genitive construction in the

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<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, Leaf (1960:472) utilizes the correlation between the genitive *μετά* and post-Homeric Greek to hypothesize a sixth possible genitive *μετά* in Homer. Leaf replaces an awkward *μεγ' ἱππῶν* with *μεθ' ἱππῶν*, calling attention to the late composition of the passage and therefore the likelihood of a 'prosey' genitive *μετά* in it.

Iliad and Odyssey (see appendix).<sup>20</sup> The change of *μετά*'s association from dative to genitive and its corresponding semantic change from locative to comitative is evidenced in the works of Aeschylus and Pindar, whose works comprise some of the earliest post-Homeric Greek literature. While post-Homeric epic poets retained the dative construction to denote interposition (as late as Quintus of Smyrna in the third century A.D.), it was only a literary device and had no active role in the spoken Greek of the time (see Monro (1891:189-90)).

The use of *μετά* in the works of Aeschylus and Pindar was restricted. Among its limited uses were sentences of the following sort:

50. *πάντων* (all the rest-GEN) *μέτα* (with) *πίσσομαι*  
 'I will be won over with all the rest' Pind.Pa.9.21

This example is representative of the most common morphological environment of *μετά* in Aeschylus and Pindar: with the genitive plural case inflection. Of Aeschylus' ten uses of *μετά* with either a genitive or dative inflection, eight are with the genitive plural (Lalin (1877:16-18)), Dindorf (1902:211)). Similarly in Pindar, six of eight construals of *μετά* with either a genitive or dative inflection are with the genitive plural (Slater

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<sup>20</sup> Dindorf (1902:211): '*μετά* cum dativo cum frequens apud Homerum, rarum apud alios poetas, alienum ab oratione prosa'.

(1969:331)).<sup>21</sup> Another way in which *μετά* a genitive inflection was used by these early Classical authors was as follows:

51. *μετά (with) τοῦ* (him-GEN-and) ... *πάσχειν ἐθέλω*  
 'And with him I am willing to suffer' Aesch.Pr.1067  
 (some manuscripts read *μετά τινος*)

This example represents the only occurrence of *μετά* with the genitive singular in Aeschylus and is not used by Pindar. Unlike *μετά* with the genitive in (50), (51) provides the clearest evidence that *μετά* with the genitive had assumed a comitative meaning in Aeschylus. While the use of the genitive plural in (50) most likely reflects a comitative meaning, it can conceivably be understood as a locative as well ('I, among all the rest, will be won over'). Such a locative reading is not possible in (51), however. Here *μετά* with the genitive cannot be read as 'among' since the governed nominal clearly refers to a single individual (in this instance, Prometheus).

The following sentences furnish examples of the only uses of *μετά* with the traditional dative plural morpheme in the works of Aeschylus and Pindar. Sentence (55) represents the one use of *μετά* with a dative singular mass noun in Aeschylus, a construction not existent in Pindar:

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<sup>21</sup> Besides those listed in the examples to follow, the Aeschylean uses of the genitive *μετά* occur in Per.734 and 915, Ag.1037 and 1271, and Supp.643, 959, and 1050. Pindar's use of the construction can be found in O.1.60, 2.34, and 10.49, P.5.94 and 9.19, and Pa.9.21.

52. εὐδοξος ... Σωγένης μετὰ (among) πενταθέλοις  
(pentatheletes-DAT)  
'Sogenes is famous among the pentatheletes' Pind.N.7.8
53. μετὰ (among) κόροισι (daughters-DAT) Νηρηός ἄλοις  
(assembly-DAT) ... τετάχθαι  
'To be placed among the assembly of the daughters of  
Nereus' Pind.O.2.29-30
54. μὴδ' ... φθίμενος, πάτερ ... μετ' (among) ἄλλω (other-DAT)  
δοῦρικμῆτι λαῶ (men-DAT)  
'I would not have you die father ... among the other men  
that were slain by the spear' Aesch.Ch.363-5
55. φέρουσ' ... γάλα ... τῆς τ' ἀνθεμουργοῦ μέλι, λίβανιν  
(waters-DAT) ὕδηνλοις (lustral-DAT) μέτ᾽ (with)  
'While I brought milk, honey of the bee, along with  
lustral water' Aesch.Per.610-3

In the first three of these examples, μετὰ with the dative expresses interposition in a way no different from the Homeric constructions examined above.<sup>22</sup> Taken contextually, however, μετὰ with the dative in (55), cannot be understood as referring to interposition regardless of

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<sup>22</sup> Not all of the dative constructions in Aeschylus and Pindar are certain. For instance, even though Homer used μετὰ with the dative singular of collective nouns, some Aeschylean manuscripts read μετ' ἄλλων in Ch.365 (sentence (54)). Such a reading -- with a genitive plural inflection -- would make the verse more reflective of post-Homeric Greek. Even if the dative is not read, this particular verse is also unusual in that the Attic form δόρι 'spear shaft'-DAT appears as δοῦρι. This spelling is characteristic of the Ionic dialect and is common in Homer. Additionally, the use of φθίμενος, which Garvie (1986:140) calls an 'epic participle', adds to this verse a third Ionic element and calls into doubt how representative this verse is of the language of Aeschylean Greece. With such Ionic characteristics, one wonders if the dative ἄλλω is the better reading, Aeschylus perhaps homericizing this verse. For examples of the dative μετὰ being used in choral sections of other playwrights' plays, see Aristophanes' Lys.1283 and Av.251 and Euripides' Hc.355.

the presence of the dative plural morpheme on λιβάς. Occurring in a list of tributary gifts, μετά with the dative in Aeschylus' Persians 613 has a conjunctive grammatical function which is unintelligible if interpreted as a locative.

Other uses of the Classical μετά are evidenced in literature written after Aeschylus and Pindar. Among these is an instrumental sense:

56. οὐτ' ἄν κελεύσαιμ' οὐτ' ἄν, εἰ θέλοις ἔτι πράσσειν  
ἐμοῦ (me-GEN) γ' ἄν ἠδέως δρῶνς μετὰ (with)  
 'I would neither urge (you), nor, even if you were still  
 willing, would you accomplish (this task) with me'  
 Soph.Ant.69-70

As this example shows, such instrumental uses of μετά which derived from its comitative sense were restricted in Classical Greek to animate agents by whose aid an action was accomplished. Though not terribly common, examples of this sort show clearly the semantic similarity between the comitative and instrumental senses of μετά as referred to in the introduction. Another use of μετά with the genitive shows its assumption of a grammatical function:

57. στρέψν πυρὸς (fire-GEN) μετὰ (with) πάντ' ἐκπορίζει  
 'A roof, with fire, provides (for me) in every way'  
 Soph.Ph.298-9

Still expressing concomitance, μετά is here serving as a conjunction, equivalent to καί. The senses of μετά with the genitive in (56) and (57) are relatively late, having largely developed after Aeschylus and Pindar.



Returning to the analysis of the uses of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  in Aeschylus and Pindar, it is clear from the data that uses of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  were much less frequent than they were in Homer. It is among these infrequent uses that the use of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  as an unequivocally comitative preposition is first evidenced (see sentence (51)). Stern (1964:163) says regarding infrequently attested words with new meanings:

If a word is used with a new meaning only once, the matter is of no importance for linguistic development; but if it is used repeatedly ... there is established a permanent connection between the word and the new meaning.

Based on this, the few instances of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  occurring with a singular object in Aeschylus and Pindar should not necessarily be accepted as evidence that the meaning of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  had changed to the comitative. Even though evidence exists that may lead to the interpretation that  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the dative ceased to express interposition in Aeschylean Greek, this solitary use of the genitive singular may simply have been a grammatical error on the part of Aeschylus or a later corruption of the text. What does imply the occurrence of a semantic change in  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  in the writings of Aeschylus and Pindar is the very fact that  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  is used so infrequently in the writings of two roughly contemporaneous authors writing in two different dialects. This contrasts dramatically with the frequency of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  in Homer, which occurred repeatedly with the dative. Based on these contrasting frequencies, we

can speculate that the reason the use of the formerly high frequency preposition is curtailed so drastically in Aeschylus and Pindar is that it was either losing its idea of interposition or had already done so. This being the situation, then in Aeschylus and Pindar the transformation of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  to a comitative sense was either well under way or complete and the playwright and poet overwhelmingly used the traditional comitative preposition  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  in preference to it.<sup>23</sup>

#### 4. Explanation of $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ with the genitive in Homer

The data presented in the previous section demonstrated that, though used infrequently in Aeschylus and Pindar, by the time of the earliest evidenced writings of the Classical period,  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the genitive had already assumed a comitative meaning, the dative-locative being retained in literature as an anachronism of an 'artificial dialect' (in the sense of Stern (1964:225)). This being so, the importance of the Homeric genitive constructions is clear.

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<sup>23</sup> Such a preference in favor of  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  is peculiar to these early authors, however. Later Classical authors tended to prefer  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  over  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ , though one never completely replaced the other (compare the frequencies of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  and  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  in Aeschylus and Pindar with those of Lysias, Aristotle, and Demosthenes, listed in the appendix). Used strictly as a locative in Homer, it is not until the writings of Euripides that the comitative construction appears regularly as a synonym to  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  (see Mommsen (1876)). Until that time, while denoting the comitative in most instances, Aeschylus and Pindar used the dative and genitive  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  infrequently, perhaps uncomfortable with its uncertain meaning.

Since there is no literature between Homer and Aeschylus to provide evidence for the morphological and semantic change in prepositional phrases involving *μετά*, we must look to the atypical Homeric constructions for reasons how and why the locative construction might have become comitative.

With the dative, *μετά* occurred in Homer only in the plural (or with a dative singular of a collective noun). As mentioned in the introduction, this association of *μετά* with the plural is only logical since one can only be located 'among' a plurality of persons or things. It is extremely significant to this investigation that the five instances of *μετά* with the genitive in Homer were confined to the plural just as were the dative constructions. Like *μετά* with the accusative both in and after Homer, it was characteristic of *μετά* as a comitative preposition in Classical literature to occur with a singular as well as a plural morpheme. It has been recognized, as early as Delbrück (1879:132), that the change from a singular to a plural dative or genitive morpheme marked *μετά*'s concurrent transition from a locative to a comitative meaning. The occurrence of *μετά* with a singular genitive inflection is evidenced only after Homer.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Hesiod, like Homer, used *μετά* with the dative plural, except in one instance:

ὅς ἂν μετὰ (with) εἰο (him-GEN) θεῶν Τιτῆσι μάχοιτο  
 'Whoever of the gods would fight the titans with him'

As was noted, three opinions exist concerning the exact meaning of the genitive constructions in Homer. The first claims that they imply a closer union between referents than the dative construction would connote, the second that they reflect a change to the comitative, and the third that they do not differ from the meaning of the dative at all.

**a. 'Closer union': The partitive genitive**

Liddell and Scott (1972:1108) offer the gloss 'fighting within their ranks' for the already familiar example:

58. μετὰ (among/with) Βοιωτῶν (Boeotians-GEN) ἐμάχοντο  
 'They fought among/with the Boeotians' Il.13.700  
 Il.13.700 (same as sentence (45) above)

In contrast, the lexicon gives the gloss 'fights among' for a similar dative construction:

59. μετὰ (among) πρώτοισι (first-DAT) μαχέσθην  
 'They fought among the foremost' Il.5.575

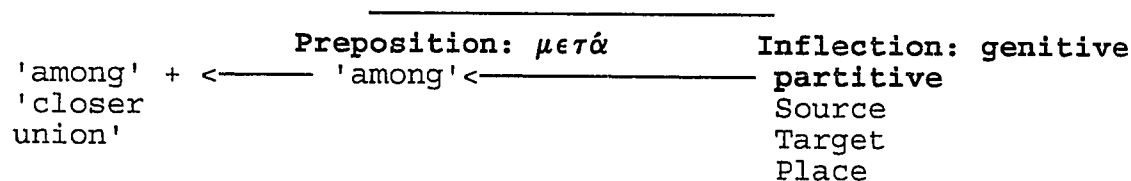
This concurs with the lexicon's understanding of μετὰ with the genitive indicating a very close union between referents. This is to say that the genitive inflection brings to the lexical meaning of μετὰ its own implication of the dependency of one referent on another. According to

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Hes.Th.392

Because this occurrence of the genitive singular with μετὰ is unique in Hesiod and represents a convention not regularly employed until the Classical period, this passage has been considered either a later addition or a grammatical error on the part of Hesiod (Mommson (1879:5)). Another possible occurrence of μετὰ with the genitive in Hesiod is in Th.401, though in most manuscripts it appears as a preverb.

this train of thought, this 'closer union' stemmed from the genitive's prototypical partitive aspect. This is assumed by Shipp (1961:17), who remarks in passing that the genitive to which *μετά* was assigned in post-Homeric writings was specifically the partitive genitive (though Shipp does not subscribe to the 'closer union' theory). If this view is to be accepted, then the meaning of the Homeric genitive constructions are realizations of the Place case role, but with the implication of a closer relationship between referents than was connoted by the use of *μετά* with the dative construction. This may be seen in the following diagram:



In application, *μετὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐμάχοντο* would differ from other uses of *μάχομαι* with a dative *μετά* in the sense that the Greek soldiers are not simply fighting 'among' the ranks of Boeotian soldiers. Rather, the connotation is that the two parties have formed an almost inseparable whole.

While the connotation of closer union might be feasible in the case of the battle alongside the Boeotian soldiers, it is difficult to understand the other Homeric sentences analogously. For instance, what would be the practical

purpose of depicting Laertes' meals 'among the servants' in (49) as one in which his relationship with them is one of such close union? Similar difficulty arises in understanding why a closer union would be implied in the example of the lots caster in (47).

**b. The Homeric genitive construction as comitative**

The second train of thought concerning the Homeric genitive theorizes that by using the genitive rather than the traditional dative with *μετά*, concomitance rather than location was implied (Shipp (1961:17)). This would be represented as follows:

<hr/>		<hr/>	
	<b>Preposition: <i>μετά</i></b>		<b>Inflection: genitive</b>
'with' <-----	'among' <-----		<b>partitive</b>
			Source
			Target
			Place
			<hr/>

This, of course, is exactly what happened,<sup>25</sup> though the data does not support the conclusion that such a transformation had already occurred at the time of Homer. Support for this conclusion lies in the fact that in Homer the genitive case inflection, when used with *μετά*, remained plural and the verb with which *μετά* appeared invites a locative rather than comitative interpretation. Additionally, the occurrence of the genitive construction in

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<sup>25</sup> This shall be the topic of Chapter IV, section 6 and Charts 7 and 9.

Homer was so infrequent that little reason exists to postulate that *μετά*'s semantic change had already occurred. While perhaps descriptive of later authors who clearly used *μετά* with the genitive as a comitative preposition, such a theory of the partitive genitive changing the meaning of *μετά* does little to explain the occurrences of *μετά* with the genitive in Homer.

**5. Support for *μετά* with genitive as an arbitrary construction: Homeric *εἰς* and *ἀνὰ* and dialectal *ἀπό***

If not an early example of a comitative preposition (as postulated by Monro (1891:198)) or a special construction utilized to mark 'closer union', the third explanation of *μετά* with the genitive in Homer is that the atypical case assignment was an arbitrary one. I believe this conclusion to be truest to the evidence.

*Μετά* with the genitive, if accepted as an arbitrarily chosen case association, is not the only instance in which a preposition appears with a seemingly anomalous case form. Similar to Homer's use of *μετά* with the genitive are his occasional uses of *εἰς* and *ἀνὰ* with a genitive inflection to convey meanings not significantly different from those which the more customary accusative inflection would otherwise imply. *εἰς* 'into' is usually assigned an accusative object by all Greek authors. Yet, in a few instances Homer used *εἰς* with the genitive, as in:

60. ἄψ δ' εἰς (into) Αἰγύπτου ... ποταμοῖο (river-GEN)  
 στῆσα νέας  
 'And I brought the ship about, back into the river of  
 Egypt' Od.4.581-2

Homer's use of εἰς and the genitive does not seem to contrast semantically with the idea connoted by εἰς and the accusative: with either inflection εἰς in Homer denoted the Target of the verb indicating that 'into' or 'toward' which an action is directed. In this anomalous use of the genitive with εἰς, we have a situation similar to Homer's infrequent use of μετά with the genitive, especially if we understand the dative and genitive inflections used in conjunction with μετά to have no difference in meaning.

Like εἰς, ἀνά 'up(wards)' was also a preposition which was commonly associated with an accusative object in all Greek writing.<sup>26</sup> In Homer, however, it was used three times with a genitive object, always in reference to boarding ships:

61. ὣς εἰπὼν ἀνά (up) νηὸς (ship-GEN) ἔβη  
 'Saying this, I boarded (up into) the ship' Od.9.177

This association with the genitive was so infrequent that it largely fell into disuse after Homer. ἀνά's use in these anomalous instances was probably due to Homer analogizing ἀνά with ἐπί, which was regularly used with the genitive to refer to the same idea of boarding ships:

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<sup>26</sup> However, see also anomalous uses of ἀνά with the genitive in Herodotus P.Oxy.903 and Pythagorus Sim.28.



62. ἐπὶ (on) νηὸς (ship-GEN) ἔβαινε  
 'He went on the ship' Il.13.665

Buck (1928:106f) shows that in various Greek dialects prepositions which would normally take a genitive object accompany the dative instead. Included among these are notable uses of ἐς (Attic ἐξ) and ἀπὺ (Attic ἀπό) in the Arcadian and Cypriotic dialects:

ἀπὺ τοῦ 'from the time when' (Cypriotic) (from Buck (1955:211))

ἐς τοῖς ἔργοις 'from the works' (Arcadian) (from Buck (1955:108))<sup>27</sup>

In each of these instances, the dative is functioning in exactly the same capacity as would the genitive inflection in the Attic and Ionic dialects. Like the hypothesis concerning the Homeric genitive μετὰ presently being formulated, change in meaning is not the root of this reassociation of case inflection. Rather, Buck (1928:108) attributes this tendency toward the dative to writers analogizing the case associations of prepositions with ἐν 'the most frequent locative construction'. In these dialects, however, the case system is beginning to disintegrate. This means that the semantic idea previously denoted by the preposition and inflection together is sufficiently carried by the preposition alone. In such

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<sup>27</sup> According to Buck (1955:30f and 110, the Arcado-Cypriotic dative suffixes -οι and -οι are equivalent to the Attic -η and -φ, respectively.

instances, the case inflection carries no positive semantic value and is free to change to a more common form or cease to be used entirely. (This will occur in all Greek dialects in the medieval period.) As mentioned in Chapter II in reference to Kurylowicz' theory of redundancy, neither Homeric nor Classical Greek is yet characterized by the semantic impotency of case inflections in prepositional constructions.

#### 6. Chapter summary

While  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the genitive certainly assumed a comitative meaning in post-Homeric literature (a meaning neither inherent to the genitive nor related to what seems to be  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 's earlier meaning), the theory that this meaning was extant in Homer must be rejected. Reasons for this are as follows:

(a) If the use of the genitive inflection was intended to differentiate  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  as a comitative preposition from  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  as a locative preposition, then  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  ought to have appeared more regularly with both dative and genitive inflections, one being used when the author intended to express interposition, the other when concomitance was the desired implication. If this were so, one would expect to see evidence in Homer, Aeschylus, and/or Pindar of a period in which 'comitative-genitive' and locative-dative prepositional phrases involving  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  co-existed. Likewise,

if the genitive construction was a device meant to connote a closer union between referents, there ought to be evidence of a period in which the two constructions alternated depending on which meaning the author intended to connote. If such contrasting uses existed, it would constitute a transitional period in which the two constructions existed side-by-side, one ultimately replacing the other.<sup>28</sup> Such a period is common in changes of this sort, usually spanning several centuries of slow development (see Dekeyser (1990:44)). Evidence for such a transitional period existed in relation to the transition of *μετά* with the accusative from a spatial to a temporal marker. From the data presented in section 2.b of this chapter, one can clearly see how, prior to the Homeric writings, the development of *μετά* with the accusative's polysemous meanings took place.

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<sup>28</sup> Such a situation did, in fact, exist in Quintus, who wrote approximately a thousand years after Homer and therefore also almost a millennium after the transitional period presently being postulated. The often homericizing Quintus sometimes used the anachronistic dative *μετά* alongside the genitive construction which was representative of the spoken Greek of his time:

Ἐνθάδ' ὦν μετ' εὐπλοκάμων, μετὰ δέ σφισι πάσης  
 'With the bright-haired Hours and among them all' Q.1.50

As the statistics in the appendix indicate, Quintus used both contemporary and anachronistic constructions side-by-side (Apollonius of Rhodes, in keeping with his mimicking of the Homeric dialect, consistently used the latter to the complete exclusion of the former). This example from Quintus, being so late a text, is, of course, not indicative of the transitional period presently under investigation.

This is not the situation with the genitive construction, however. Instead, we find Homer using the genitive construction in much the same way he used the dative. This is followed by Aeschylus and Pindar all but discontinuing the use of *μετά* as either a locative or comitative, substituting *μεταξύ* and *σύν* instead. When *μετά* did occur in Aeschylus and Pindar, it was predominantly with the genitive and most likely expressed concomitance. This implies that the semantic change was already complete in the fifth century.

(b) Despite their association with the genitive, the Homeric examples of *μετά* with the genitive do not seem to differ significantly in meaning from their more common dative counterparts. They occur with plural objects, as would the dative constructions, and with verbs which invite a locative rather than a comitative interpretation. This is not the situation after Homer. The genitive constructions then begin to bear less resemblance with the Homeric dative ones, both morphologically and semantically.

(c) Above all, if *μετά* with the genitive either denoted the comitative or connoted a closer union between referents in Homer, such a theory does nothing to explain what motivation *μετά* had to change.

In Homer, then, *μετά* with the genitive may be understood as completely anomalous, in no way implying or

indicating a transition to a comitative meaning. Rather, it is simply a locative with an anomalous genitive inflection. Like the Homeric εἰς and ἀνά with the genitive, μετά with the genitive occurs very infrequently and has a sense not notably dissimilar to μετά's more regular association with the dative. μετά is different, however, in that (i) while the genitive εἰς and ἀνά constructions fell into disuse after Homer, μετά with the genitive became the norm in Greek literature, and (ii) μετά is used in conjunction with a variety of verbs, which was not so in the anomalous uses of εἰς and ἀνά. While solving the mystery of μετά's meaning in Homer, explaining the change of μετά's governed nominal in terms of anomalous case assignment does not explain μετά's semantic change. Rather, we are left not far from where we began: with μετά as a locative in Homer, a comitative in the earliest Classical texts, and no explicable reason for the motivation for this change.

#### Chapter IV. Explanation of and motivation for the semantic change of *μετά*: The order of the change

Since in the earliest post-Homeric writings *μετά* was regularly used with the genitive to express concomitance rather than location, we must assume that in the one to two hundred year period transpiring between Homer and Aeschylus something occurred for *μετά* to regularly associate with the genitive rather than the dative.

In order to hypothesize, as we did in section 4.b of the previous chapter, that the genitive inflection influenced the meaning of *μετά* to such an extent that it completely changed the preposition's meaning, we must assume that the genitive inflection was commonly associated with *μετά* prior to the semantic change. From the data presented thus far, we have no evidence of this. Instead, we have only the five anomalous genitive constructions from Homer followed by a seemingly complete inflectional and semantic change in Aeschylus and Pindar. We must therefore look elsewhere for the reason the genitive became associated with *μετά*. An examination of the Greek system of case inflections as they appear with prepositions will shed light on this problem.

##### 1. Inflectional change due to analogy

Indo-European languages tend to form regular categories specifying with which case inflections a preposition will associate. In modern German, for example, prepositions

regularly associate with accusative, dative, and genitive inflections. If a German preposition associates with two case inflections (to introduce a neologism, if it is 'bi-associating'), it will be with the accusative and dative, such as an, auf, hinter, in, neben, and so forth. Bi-associating German prepositions will never be the genitive and dative or the accusative and dative. Likewise, Old English prepositions which associated with more than one case form did so exclusively with the dative and instrumental (æfter, ær, mid, tō), Latin with ablative and accusative (ab, ex, de, etc.) and Sanskrit (for the most part) with the accusative and locative (ādhī, antār, ūpa). Even modern Russian, whose bi-associating prepositions are either accusative-prepositional (о 'against'-'concerning'), accusative-instrumental (за 'behind'-'for'), or genitive-instrumental (с 'from'-'with'), forms such regular categories. In Greek, bi-associating prepositions (διὰ, κατὰ, and ὕπέρ) occur with genitive and accusative case inflections.<sup>29</sup> μετά was unique in the fact that it, in the Homeric dialect, was a preposition assigned to the dative and accusative cases. Since an explanation for μετά's morphosyntactic and semantic change after Homer has not been

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<sup>29</sup> I treat μετά as a preposition which associates with two case forms rather than three because of the fact that in no dialect of any period did μετά regularly occur with accusative, dative, and genitive and have distinct meanings.

reached by this study so far, I propose that the case associations of *μετά* became genitive-accusative rather than dative-accusative to conform with the case associations of other Greek bi-associating prepositions.

Such a theory of analogy fits the Homeric data. In Homer, *μετά* with the dative implied a locative relation. At first, this meaning was retained with the genitive, as is evidenced in Homer and concluded in Chapter III, section 6 above. Though location was primarily expressed by the dative, *μετά*'s reassociation with the genitive to express a locative relation was marginally acceptable since in Greek there already existed certain low frequency prepositions which implied location and were associated with the genitive, such as *μεσσηνύ* 'between', *ὀπισθεν* 'behind', and *ἐνδον* 'within, in the house of' in:

63. ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσση ἀλὶ πετρίεσσα, μεσσηνύς (between) Ἰθάκης (Ithaka-GEN) τῇ Σάμοιό (Samos-GEN)  
'And there is a rocky island in the middle of the sea between Ithaka and Samos' Od.4.844-5
64. οἱ ὀπισθε (behind) μάχης (battle-GEN) ἠδὲ πτολέμοιο (battle-GEN) ἔστασαν  
'They stood at the rear of the battle' Il.13.536-7

As discussed Chapter II, the genitive was not commonly used to express a locative relation, though some locative prepositions associated with the genitive, perhaps due to the early identity of the Indo-European ablative and locative cases (see reference to Sanskrit *madhyas* in footnote 8 above). That *μεσσηνύ* ceased to be used



prepositionally after Homer, appearing only rarely as an adverb unassociated with any case inflection, might imply that Greek speakers were uncomfortable with this peripheral use of the genitive to express a purely locative relation. (Of course, such a theory is purely speculative and not reflective of any data available.)

However, in addition to its locative sense, the so-called 'local genitive', when used with prepositions, often additionally indicated origination, cause, or destination, all based on the case's partitive and ablative senses. Take as examples:

65. τὸν δ' ἄρ' ἀπὸ (from) σκοπιῆς (look-out place) εἶδε  
σκοπός  
'The watchman saw him from the look-out place' Od.4.524

66. δι' (through) ὤμου (shoulder-GEN) χάλκεον ἔγχος  
ἦλθεν (hollow-GEN)  
'The bronze spear went through his shoulder' Il.4.481-2

The local genitive sense of the preposition περί was largely restricted to the epic poetic tradition. This may be seen in the following example:

67. τετάνυστο περὶ (about) σπείους (cave-GEN) γλαφυροῖο  
ἡμερὶς  
'The vine stretched around the hollow cave' Od.5.68-9

This use of the genitive with περί to denote location, was not commonly used after Homer. Rather, an association with the dative, which more regularly expressed location, completely replacing it.

By assuming that this reassociation of μετά's case

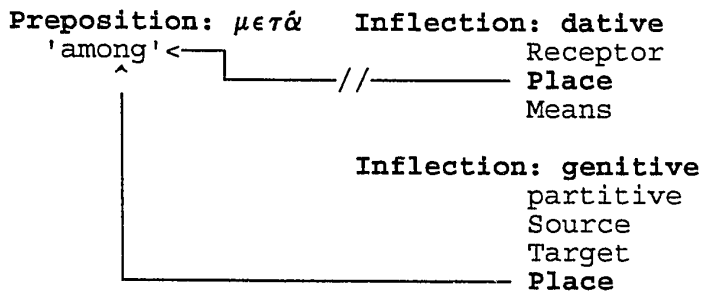
inflection was for the purpose of regularizing the inflectional association of the paradigm of Greek prepositions, then *μετά*'s change of case association was clearly conscious and intentional on the part of Greek writers. However, as the following section will show, the semantic change that followed was not intentional.

## **2. *μετά* assumes a comitative meaning due to influence of the genitive**

We have already explained how the meaning of the accusative case inflection extended the originally locative-dative meaning of *μετά* to senses of direction, sequence, comparison, and time. As the previous analysis of the semantic change of *μετά* with the accusative construction showed, the change was gradual. At first, *μετά* retained its sense of interposition when an accusative inflection was used in conjunction with it. Then, due to the independent meaning of the accusative inflection, *μετά* assumed many meanings completely dissimilar to its original idea of interposition. The post-Homeric comitative sense of *μετά* with the genitive can be understood similarly. At first, the meaning of *μετά* with the genitive did not differ significantly from the dative construction, as is evidenced in the occurrences of *μετά* with the genitive in Homer. Using the graphic convention previously employed to show how the meaning of prepositions and inflections interrelate, this would be represented as follows:

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Chart 7. *μετά* with the genitive in Homer



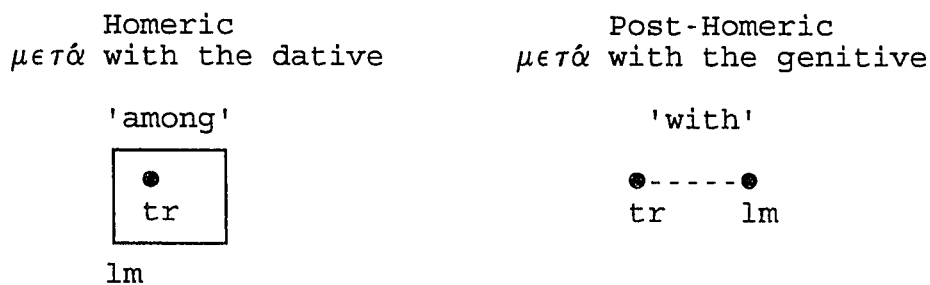
In the arguments above, the influence of the genitive case was examined and dismissed as a feasible explanation for *μετά*'s motivation to change at the time of Homer. I now propose that once morphosyntactic analogy caused the inflectional change to occur sometime in the period between Homer and Aeschylus, the semantic value of the genitive case effectively influenced, and ultimately changed, the meaning of the preposition. Immediately after Homer, the meaning of *μετά* became affected by the meaning of the genitive inflection, just as the accusative inflection previously affected *μετά*'s meaning.

As was mentioned in Chapter II, the locative sense of the genitive was secondary. The more prototypical sense (the 'partitive') denoted the dependant nature of one referent upon another. Since this was the preferred meaning attributed to the genitive, *μετά* with the genitive lost its sense of location altogether, just as did *μετά* with the accusative. When the connotations of the dative case ceased

to affect the meaning of *μετά*, the preposition began to take on a comitative rather than locative meaning. After all, the difference between 'among' and 'with' lay largely in the locative connotations of the former: the genitive inflection emphasized a referent's relation to other referents rather than the referent's location. This is to say that with the genitive construction the landmark is considered more an entity in whose presence an action is performed than a location in which one acts. This is shown graphically in Chart 8.

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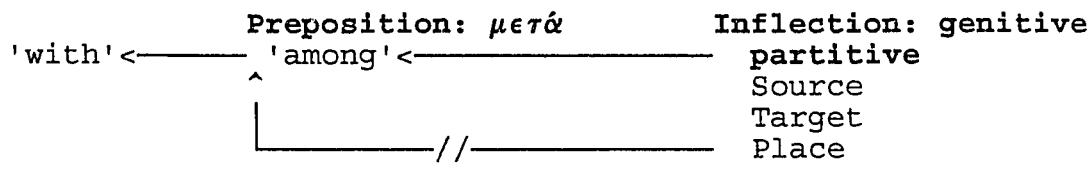
**Chart 8. Comparison of the Dative and Genitive  
*μετά* Using Langacker's Diagrams**



This being so, then *μετά*'s assumption of the genitive case to express concomitance is due to the partitive reflecting the dependant nature of one referent on another and the concurrent abandonment of *μετά*'s locative sense, as is shown graphically in Chart 9 below.

To this point we have explained why *μετά* became associated with a genitive case inflection and how this association spawned the comitative meaning. The question

Chart 9. *μετά*'s Semantic Change Due to  
Reassociation of Case Inflection



remains, however, if Greek already had a preposition marking accompaniment (σύν), why would there be a need to create another? With the addition of *μετά* into the lexicon as a comitative preposition, the Greek language had two comitative prepositions and no regular way of expressing interposition. The answer is that there was no reason at all for the change: after Homer *μετά* reassociated with the genitive for purely morphosyntactic reasons. The semantic shift was completely unintentional.

Most authors, like Aeschylus and Pindar, preferred one comitative preposition over the other while other authors, like Euripides and Xenophon, used the two interchangeably. All authors compensated for the absence of a high frequency preposition expressing interposition by using other prepositions for this purpose. Though no one high frequency preposition or adverb was present to fill its place, the idea of interposition was readily expressed by a number of low frequency prepositions and adverbs. Included among these are:

- a. *μεσσηγύ*. In Homer, the adverb *μεσσηγύ* (from the

nominal μέσος 'middle') was occasionally used prepositionally, as in the already familiar example:

ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσση ἄλῃ πετρήσσω, μεσσηγυῖς (between)  
Ἰθάκης (Ithaka-GEN) τε Σάμοιό (Samos-GEN)  
 'And there is a rocky island in the middle of the sea  
between Ithaka and Samos' Od.4.844-5 (sentence (63))

This word is largely restricted to Homer, however, and by the Classical period it had dropped out of the literary lexicon entirely.

b. μέσος. An inflected form of μέσος was sometimes used adverbially to express interposition:

68. Ποντόνοος θῆκε θρόνον ἀργουρόηλον μέσσω (in the middle)  
 δαιτυμόνων  
 'Pontonous set the silver-studded chair in the midst of  
 the dinner guests' Od.8.66

μέσος also occurred periphrastically with a preposition and a dative case inflection with a similar sense:

69. ἐν (in) δ' ἄρα μέσση (middle-DAT) λέκτρο  
 'He lay down in the midst (of the fallen leaves)'  
 Od.5.487

c. μεταξύ. The closest thing to a replacement of μετά with the dative was μεταξύ (μετά+σύν), a word appearing only adverbially in Homer, but used by later authors as a preposition with the genitive:

70. αἱ μεταξύ (between) τῶν (the-GEN) λόγων (words-GEN)  
 διηγήσεις  
 'The words between the narrations' Plato.Theat.143c

μεταξύ is the word Aeschylus used most often to express interposition.

d. μίγδα. The preposition μίγδα with the dative

was also infrequently used to express interposition, as in:

71. αὐτὰρ δὲ ... καθίζον μίγδ' (among) ἄλλοισι (other-DAT)  
θεοῖσιν (gods-DAT)  
 'And they sat down among the other gods' Il.8.436-7

Besides these low frequency prepositions of interposition, another way the Greek language compensated for the absence of *μετά* with the dative was to use other high frequency prepositions which themselves could connote a similar, if not identical, meaning. These high frequency prepositions, while not always explicitly implying interposition, implied overall senses whose connotations were close enough. Most of these constructions were extant by the time of Homer. Take for example:

72. στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν (in) χερσὶν (hand-DAT)  
 'While he held the garlands in his hand' Il.1.14
73. ἔστι δὲ φύλον ἐν (in) ἀνθρώποισιν (men-DAT) ματαιότατον  
 'There is a worthless class among (i.e. within the group of all) men' Pindar.P.3.21

Since an object or person's location 'within' a group of referents is conceptually similar to its location 'in the midst of' that group, *ἐν* was regularly interchanged with *μετά* as early as Homer. As an example, compare (72) and (73) with the following examples:

- πιδάλιον μετὰ (between) χερσὶ (hands-DAT) θεούσης  
νῆος ἔχοντα  
 'While he held a steering oar of the speeding ship between his hands' Od.3.281 (sentence (31))
- ἔρυσσον ἐὼν μετ' (among) ἐμοῖς (me-DAT)  
ἐτάροισιν (companions-DAT)  
 'I rowed among my companions' Od.11.78 (sentence (32))

Because of this similarity, ἐν often replaced μετὰ in later literature when the distinction between 'location in' and 'location among' was not considered important enough to distinguish. Prepositions like ἐν, which associated with only one case inflection, were treated in Chapter II as reinforcing the polysemous meaning of the case inflections. Accordingly, in (72) and (73), the dative case inflection implies Place, while the preposition indicates more precisely the nature of that locative relationship and is of secondary value. This is to say that in expressing the relation existing between the garlands and the hand in (72) above, denotation of Place is required, whereas the author owns a relative degree of license in specifying the more exact nature of that relationship. Despite the importance of the dative in the denotation of location, prepositions associated with other cases could also be used to express interposition, as in:

74. ὅκεον ἐν στήεσσι δι' (throughout) ὄκριας (hill top-ACC)  
   ἠνεροέσσας (windy-ACC)  
   'They settled in the caves among (throughout) the windy  
   hill tops' Od.9.400
75. ὃν κτεάτεσσιν (possessions-DAT) ἐοῖς (his own) ἐπὶ (on)  
   γῆρας ἔτετμε  
   'When old age overtook (him) among his own possessions'  
   Od.1.218
76. ἔβη κατὰ (down) νῆας (ships-ACC) Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων  
   'He went his way among the bronze coated ships of the  
   Achaeans' Il.2.47
77. θυμὸν ... ὄρινε πᾶσι μετὰ (among) πλινθύν (host-ACC)  
   He stirred the heart of all (those) among the host'



## Il.2.142-3

This ability of dissimilar Greek prepositions to substitute for the absent the  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  of interposition has implications to conclusions reached in another study regarding the conditions which allow for a word's meaning to change or be replaced. Concerning the replacement of Old English wip 'against' by the more 'salient' ongean, Dekeyser (1990:44) declares that:

... the demise of oppositional wip was only possible because another preposition, viz. ongean, was available to take over.

While Dekeyser by no means based his analysis of mid, wip, and ongean on this point, this present analysis has shown that such a conclusion concerning the necessity of a replacement lexical item to facilitate meaning change, while perhaps relevant to Dekeyser's Old English analysis, is by no means a cross-linguistic phenomenon. Even though  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  with the dative in Homer had no single commonly used lexical item to take its place, its meaning changed nonetheless. Additionally, unlike the Old English mid,  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  never dropped out of the Greek language despite  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 's favored status, and therefore higher frequency, in the vast majority of Classical and Alexandrian prose.

## Chapter V. Conclusion

This study has shown that the various meanings of *μετά* with the accusative were all extant by the time of Homer. Its unique spatial sense (interposition) was first affected by the accusative case inflection which determined the meaning of the preposition with verbs of motion. This changed the sense of the prepositional phrase from 'in the midst' to 'into the midst'. Through this association with an accusative case inflection, *μετά* took on the meanings 'in pursuit of', 'second to', 'following', 'next', 'after', and 'behind'. This positively demonstrates the fact that, in the ancient Greek language, inflections were able to affect the lexical meaning of prepositions in the context of a prepositional phrase. In the course of time, such a situation caused *μετά* with the dative to change from a locative to a comitative meaning when used with a genitive object. However, whereas the accusative and dative constructions co-existed in Homer, the genitive construction completely replaced the Homeric dative construction in later Greek.

This study has shown that *μετά*'s various inflectional associations and semantic values were not simply dialectal variations in which *μετά* with a dative object expressed interposition in some dialects and *μετά* with the genitive expressed concomitance in others. Rather, *μετά* with the

dative represented the earlier and perhaps original sense of the word from which the genitive construction developed. The rare usages of *μετά* with the genitive inflection in Homer were shown to have been misconstruals of the preposition's normally dative case inflection. This conclusion is supported by similar anomalous case associations in Homer (such as *εἰς* and *ἀνά* with the genitive). Also in support of the postulate that *μετά* with the genitive in Homer did not differ semantically from the dative construction is the fact that it appeared only with a plural inflection, thereby inviting a locative interpretation. As misconstruals, the five instances of *μετά* with the genitive in Homer did not differ in meaning from the preposition's use in conjunction with the regular locative-dative inflection and are therefore not early instances of a comitative meaning.

By the time of Aeschylus and Pindar, the genitive construction was already the norm. While used mostly with the genitive plural and therefore perhaps implying interposition, certain constructions exist which afford no comitative interpretation. Among these are *μετά*'s occurrences with the genitive singular inflection in Aesch. Pr. 1067 (sentence (51)) and the dative plural in Per. 610 (sentence (55)). Because Aeschylus and Pindar are the earliest well-attested post-Homeric authors, there exists no

record of a transitional period between the times when *μετά* was used to convey an exclusively locative meaning and the time when its meaning was exclusively comitative. However, because Aeschylus and Pindar clearly used *μετά* as a comitative preposition in at least some instances, an unattested transitional period may be postulated, occurring just prior to the early Classical literary period.

The change of inflection from dative to genitive was morphosyntactically rather than semantically motivated: the cases associated with *μετά* analogized to those which other prepositions governed in Ancient Greek. This change of inflection was an intentional one. Since the Greek language had little to no motivation to create a second comitative preposition and at the same time eliminate its only preposition of interposition, it follows that the semantic change, unlike the inflectional one, was most likely unintentional. *μετά*'s transition from a locative to a comitative meaning after Homer was motivated by its reassociation with the genitive and the ability of other prepositional constructions to convey the former meaning of *μετά* with the dative. Without the dative morpheme, *μετά* became less associated with an idea of interposition, yet retained its function of denoting an object's presence among other objects. As such, *μετά* with the genitive became synonymous with *σύν*. This semantic change seems to have

occurred only after Homer, however. Because of the change of *μετά*'s meaning, a gap appeared in the Greek language. Suddenly with two prepositions to express accompaniment, there was none regularly used to indicate a spatial relationship of interposition. Despite this, the Greek language could afford to lose *μετά* with the dative since there existed other low frequency prepositions that could connote similar, if not identical, senses of interposition.

This study has assumed that the change in case association preceded and triggered *μετά*'s semantic change. This is because the semantic change becomes yet more difficult to account for if we hypothesize that the semantic shift preceded the morphological change. If this were so, *μετά*'s meaning would first shift from locative to comitative. An account would then have to be made explaining the fact that the genitive rather than the dative survived to express comitative and instrumental senses. This would be extremely difficult for, while the genitive sometimes shared the dative's locative function, as was noted in Chapter IV regarding the association of the genitive with the low frequency prepositions *μεσσηύ*, *ὀπισθεν*, and *ἐνδον*, concomitance and instrumentality were senses only rarely associated with the genitive. This is particularly true in regards to the use of the genitive in prepositional phrases. The case association of Greek

prepositions whose lexical meanings are comitative and instrumental - σύν, ἄμα, and ὅπου - is consistently dative.

Unlike the concrete-to-abstract semantic change that Traugott (1985b, 1986, 1989) studied, the change of μετά from a locative meaning to a preposition expressing direction and concomitance could not have occurred without the changing morphosyntactic environment. It is in this changing morphosyntactic environment that the answer to μετά's motivation for semantic change lies. Though it remains true that linguists cannot identify which words will change in a given language and at a given time, this study, by examining the morphosyntactic change that accompanied μετά's change in meaning, contributes to semanticists' ability to identify which lexical items in a given language are more susceptible to being affected by the cognitive motivation for meaning change. In this instance, words (prepositions) regularly occurring in close connection with other words or morphemes have been shown to be particularly susceptible to semantic change.

Studies have been written tracing the semantic changes of prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions of various languages from one meaning to another. Among these are Scancarelli (1986), Geeraerts (1986), Stein (1988), Faltz (1989), and Dekeyser (1990). These studies are all similar in that they approach semantic change by simply taking into

account a word's lexical meaning. Such an approach will not work in with *μετά*. To explain how this word, initially meaning 'among, between', came to mean 'behind', 'after', 'toward', 'in the company of', and, in restricted uses, 'by means of', one must take into account the fact that the word very often occurs in a phrasal environment. Only by examining the changing morphosyntactic environment in which *μετά* occurred can the motivation for the problematic locative-to-comitative change of *μετά* be fully explained. In doing so this study has presented a new way to analyze the motivation and method of semantic change.

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**Appendix**  
**Frequencies of μετά and σύν in Greek Literature.**<sup>30</sup>

<u>Author</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Dialect</u>	<u>μετά + genitive</u>	<u>μετά + dative</u>	<u>σύν</u>
Hesiod	c.700	Old Ionic	1	15	14
Homer	c.700-620	Old Ionic	5	227	181
Hom.Hymn	c.700	Old Ionic	1	30	6
Aeschylus	c.525-456	Old Attic	8	2	67
Pindar	c.518-456	Doric	6	2	74
Euripides	c.480-400	Old Attic	114	4	197
Thucydides	c.460-400	Old Attic	400	0	17
Isocrates	c.436-338	New Attic	285	0	1
Xenophon	c.434-355	New Attic	45	0	48
Antiphon	c.411	New Attic	22	0	2
Lysias	c.403-387	New Attic	133	0	2
Aristotle	c.384-322	New Attic	300	0	8
Demosthenes	c.384-322	New Attic	346	0	18
Apoll.Rh.	c.222-180	"epic"	0	36	65
Polybus	c.203-120	New Attic	808	0	121
Ev.John	c.95 AD	Koine	41	0	3
Quintus	c.300 AD	"epic"	17	71	36

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<sup>30</sup> The data from Euripides, Isocrates, Xenophon, Antiphon, Lysias, and Demosthenes are from Carrière (1982) who does not distinguish between accusative, genitive, and dative occurrences of μετά. The rest is largely from Mommsen (1874, 1876, 1879). The limited number of occurrences of dative and genitive constructions in Aeschylus and Pindar is further attested in Dindorf (1902:211) and Slater (1969:331). The count of σύν in Pindar is my own.